

Al-Dānī's *al-Taysīr fī al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'* A Translation with Linguistic Commentary

MARIJN VAN PUTTEN



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AL-DĀNĪ'S AL-TAYSĪR FĪ AL-QIRĀ'ĀT
AL-SABʿ

al-Dānī's Al-Taysīr fī al-Qirā'āt al-Sabʿ

A Translation with Linguistic Commentary

Marijn van Putten



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The translation sprang from my desire to be more familiar with the canonical reading traditions, and I originally intended it only for personal use. But while I was working on the translation, I noticed that there was a great deal of confusion about what the Qur’ānic reading traditions entailed and that people had difficulty navigating its highly conventional but perhaps unintuitive structure and unusual jargon. It became clear to me that this translation would be beneficial to many more people than just myself.

There are several people whose help in the translation of this book must be acknowledged. First, Hythem Sidky was the first person to push me to dive deep into the details of the reading traditions. Without him my current project and this translation would not exist. He was consistently an excellent sparring partner while thinking through difficult passages and how to best render them into English. Having him as an interlocutor, helped clarify many passages that would have remained as incomprehensible in translation as they were to me when I first stumbled upon them in Arabic.

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Marijn van Putten

Rotterdam

TRANSLITERATION AND SPECIAL SYMBOLS

Transliteration

The study of *qirāʾāt* requires many subtle distinctions which standard forms of Arabic transcription do not supply. For this work I have adapted the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (DMG) transcription (Brockelmann 1935).

Consonants

The transcriptions of the basic Arabic consonants are given in the table below.

Table 1: Consonants and their transcriptions

ء	ب	ت	ث	ج	ح	خ	د	ذ	ر	ز	س	ش	ص
^{ʰa} ^b	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ǧ</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>ḫ</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ḏ</i>	<i>r</i> <i>ṛ</i> <i>ṛ^c</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>ṣ</i> <i>ṣ^d</i>
ض	ط	ظ	ع	غ	ف	ق	ك	ل	م	ن	ه	و	ي
<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṭ^d</i>	<i>ʿ</i>	<i>ġ</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i> <i>l^e</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n^f</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>w^g</i> <i>w^h</i>	<i>y</i> <i>y^h</i>

- Hamzah* is always written with ʾ, even in word-initial position. In this position it contrasts with ʾ*alif al-waṣl* which is written without ʾ.
- Hamzah* may sometimes be weakened to hiatus (*bayna bayn*). This is marked with . (period) in the position of the *hamzah*.
- r* has an emphatic allophone *ṛ* and a non-emphatic allophone *ṛ^c*. When relevant to the discussion, these are distinguished in transcription.
- One important difference from the DMG standard is that I use *ḏ* to indicate the voiced emphatic interdental fricative [ḏ^ʕ]. *ṣ* is used to indicate the voiced emphatic alveolar fricative [ṣ^ʕ].
- The emphatic *l* in the divine name *Allāh* is phonemic, and therefore transcribed distinctly.
- n* represents ʾ*ihfāʾ al-nūn*.
- Superscript *w* represents labialisation (ʾ*išmām al-ḍamm*) of a consonant.
- w* and *y* may be nasalized. This is marked by *ṽ* and *ỹ*.

Vowels

The table below gives the transcription and the name for the relevant vowel qualities.

Table 2: Transcription of Arabic vowels and their names

	front	front rounded	back
close	<i>i</i> <i>kasr</i>	<i>ü</i> <i>ʾiṣmām al-ḍamm</i>	<i>u</i> <i>ḍamm</i>
mid-close	<i>e</i> <i>ʾimālah</i>		
mid-open	<i>ä</i> <i>bayna al-lafḍayn</i>		
open	<i>a</i> <i>fath</i>		

- The long vowels are written with a macron: *ā, ī, ū, ē, ā, ū*.
- When a long vowel stands before *ʾalif al-waṣl*, the macron is replaced with grave to indicate that they are pronounced short in this position: *à, ì, ù, è*.
- Overlong vowels (*madd*) are transcribed by using a circumflex accent instead of a macron: *â, î, û, ê, â, û*.
- Ultrashort vowels (called *iḥtilās* or *ʾiḥfāʾ al-ḥarakah*) are spelled with a breve: *ă, ĭ, ŭ*.
- Superscript ⁱ and ^u are used for the *rawm* realization of *i* and *u*. The exact phonetic realization of this is not clear.

Notes on Transliteration

There are several widely followed transcriptional choices of Classical Arabic in scholarship today that are not very accurate and become confusing when dealing with the specific details of Qurʾānic recitation. This book adheres to the following conventions:

- The pausal form of the feminine ending is always written with the consonant, which in proper *tagwīd* should actually be pronounced, i.e., *-ah* (or *-eh*), and never ***-a*.

- The third person masculine pronominal suffix is spelled *-hū* and *-hī* when they are to be pronounced long (i.e., usually after a light syllable), and *-hu* and *-hi* when they are to be pronounced short (i.e., usually after a heavy syllable).
- The pausal form of the *nisbah* ending is spelled *-īyy*. Pronouncing it *-ī* is not strictly in line with Classical Arabic orthoepy. However, the colloquial form with *-ī* is used when transcribing names such as al-Dānī and al-Kisā'ī.
- The definite article *al-* is spelled assimilated to following coronal consonants when citing the Qur'ān. When transcribing names, I do not spell this assimilation, as per the general convention.
- Epenthetic vowels that are the result of breaking up of consonant clusters, are typically written on the second word, in contrast to how this is done in Arabic script, as it is the second word that tends to predict its vowel quality, e.g., *'aw unquṣ* rather than ***'awu nquṣ*. The only exception to this is the epenthetic *-u* that appears on the plural verbal ending *-aw* and the plural pronouns *hum*, *'antum*, *-hum*, *-tum*, *-kum*, as for these it is rather the preceding morpheme that predicts the vowel quality (e.g., *tanawu l-faḍla*, *humu l-muflīḥūna*).
- Outside book titles and untranslated terms, I cite Classical Arabic fully vocalised both when it represents the text of the Qur'ān and other forms of Classical Arabic prose.

Special Symbols and Abbreviations

ṽ stands for any short vowel and ṽ̄ for any long vowel. When a vowel sign has a macron and a breve (ṽ̄, ṽ̄̇, ṽ̄̈, ṽ̄̉) this indicates that the vowel is variously read short or long among the seven readers.

c stands for any consonant.

≠ between two words indicates that an assimilation has taken place.

⌋ between morphemes or words marks that a *hamzah* is lost between these two words or morphemes.

// marks a verse division.

indicates a pause.

[...] marks a phonetic transcription in the International Phonetic Alphabet.

|...| is used to represent the underlying form that is assumed by al-Dānī when this helps explain his thought process. In this representation, long vowels are represented as |uw|, |iy| and |aA|, in keeping with how they are analysed in the native grammatical tradition.

√ followed by three consonants indicates the root of a word.

I, II, III indicates first, second and third root consonant. This may be followed with a hyphen and a specification of the consonant. Thus III-y refers to roots whose third root consonant is y.

$X \rightarrow Y$, $Y \leftarrow X$: Y is synchronically derived from X. Alternatively: Person X transmits to Person Y.

$X > Y$, $Y < X$: X diachronically shifts to Y.

Q#:# marks a reference to a verse in the Qur'ān, using the Kufan verse count found in the most widely available printed Qur'āns that follow the reading tradition of Ḥafṣ ← 'Āṣim.

I.#. refers to sections in the Introduction.

U.#. indicates sections in the preamble and in the 'Uṣūl 'General Principles' part of the translation of the *Taysīr*.

F.#:#. points to a specific variant in the *Farṣ al-ḥurūf* 'Specific Variants' part of the translation of the *Taysīr*. As the order of the *Taysīr* follows that of the Qur'ān, it also refers to the verse of the variant.

(§) Abbreviates the formula of benediction of the Prophet: *ṣallā ḷlāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam* 'may God bless him and grant (him) salvation'.

(s) Refers to the formula of benediction of prophets: *'alayhi s-salām* 'peace be upon him'.

(r) Refers to the formula of benediction of companions of the Prophet: *raḍiya ḷlāhu 'anh/'anhum/'anhumā* 'may God be pleased with him/them/them both'.

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I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. Introduction

When the third caliph, ‘Uṭmān b. ‘Affān (r. 23–35/644–656), first put down the Qur’ān in writing in its standard form, it was spelled according to the conventions of the Arabic script of the first/seventh century. This script lacked ways of expressing vowels and the *hamzah*, and frequently omitted the dots that differentiate homographic letter shapes (such as *bā’*, *tā’* and *ṭā’*). The writing was ambiguous, a variety of readings of words and verses were conceivable and in use. In the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries a number of specialised reciters rose to prominence across the Islamic empire and started to teach the Qur’ān formally according to their specific reading tradition. A ‘reading tradition’ (*qirā’ah* pl. *qirā’āt*) is a specification of the entire text of the Qur’ān, down to the details of its precise words and phonetic features. These reading traditions are named after the person who taught this formal system; thus, one speaks of *qirā’at ‘Āṣim* ‘the reading tradition of ‘Āṣim’ or *qirā’at Nāfi’* ‘the reading tradition of Nāfi’.

Descriptions of these formal reading traditions were in due course collected in manuals that usually aimed to highlight the differences between multiple traditions. While there appear to have been earlier works (Nasser 2013a, 36–47), the first surviving manual of this type is Ibn Muğāhid’s (d. 324/936) *Kitāb al-sab‘ah* (Ibn Muğāhid 1972), who contrasted the reading traditions of seven readers from five major early Islamic garrison cities. Today these seven are considered equally authoritative renditions of the Qur’ān; the Qur’ān is still commonly recited according to several of them.¹ Another three readings not included by Ibn Muğāhid are also regarded as authoritative today.²

The book before you is a translation of ‘Abū ‘Amr al-Dānī’s *Kitāb al-taysīr fī al-qirā’āt al-sab‘* (*The Book of Facilitation of the Seven Reading Traditions*). This work is a formal description of the same seven reading traditions as Ibn Muğāhid’s foundational manual. While it is

¹ By far the most dominant today is ‘Āṣim’s reading in the transmission of Ḥafṣ; it is the default reading tradition of the majority of the Islamic world. However, in North Africa the tradition of Nāfi’, while in Sudan the tradition of ‘Abū ‘Amr is dominant.

² Namely, the traditions of ‘Abū Ġa’far (d. 130/747), Ya’qūb (d. 205/820) and Ḥalaf (d. 229/844).

not the oldest of these works, this is the book on the reading traditions that became foundational for the system of two transmitters per reader by which the seven readings are transmitted today. It is, moreover, a work that is accessible, well-structured and easy to read. It serves as a perfect example of the genre of *qirā'āt* manuals. Its contents and structure will familiarise a reader with the genre and its specificities without getting lost in endless technical details and differences in transmission.

While preparing this translation and introduction, I had four main audiences in mind: researchers in Qur'ānic studies, Semitic and Arabic linguists, researchers of orthoepic traditions of scripture, and Muslims interested in the discipline of *qirā'āt*.

The field of Qur'ānic studies as it is practiced in secular academic institutions barely, if at all, interacts with the different reading traditions of the Qur'ān. Instead, most researchers almost exclusively rely on the transmission of Ḥafṣ ← 'Āṣim, which is only one of the two canonical transmissions of one of the seven canonical readers. The popularity of this reading today is essentially an accident of history—Ḥafṣ takes up no special position within the canon and until quite recently did not enjoy the broad popularity it does today. Throughout most of history, the traditions of Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr have been much more dominant. The lack of interaction with the *qirā'āt* not infrequently leads to confusion about subtle points in *tafsīrs* ('Qur'ān commentaries'), which not infrequently assume a significant amount of familiarity with the subject.³ It is hoped that this translation will serve as a guide for the perplexed and it will help my colleagues interact with *qirā'āt* works and its specialised jargon which nowhere else has been laid out in English in the kind of detail as it has here.⁴ It is hoped that this translation provides an opportunity to better understand these works, and opens new analytical insights into the meaning of the text.

³ Likewise, this familiarity is not always present among the publishers of *tafsīrs*, who often render any citation of the Qur'ān in the tradition of Ḥafṣ even when the discussion is clearly not about that reading, rendering the edition an incomprehensible mess except to those who just so happen to have the relevant knowledge.

⁴ Shady Nasser's work is certainly an important step in this direction. Besides a tabulated overview of all the specific variants, it also has a rather useful, albeit very short introduction to the *'uṣūl* of the seven readers (Nasser 2020).

My research balances two different fields. On the one hand I am strongly engaged with Qur'ānic studies, and the linguistic and textual specifics of the Qur'ānic text, but on the other hand I am also a historical linguist concerned with the linguistic history of Arabic, as well as that of Semitic (and more distantly Berber and Afro-Asiatic). It is people that concern themselves with such questions that I envision as the second audience of this book. I have found that Semiticists, and even historical linguists of Arabic, frequently focus on a very narrow definition of Classical Arabic, only taking into account the 'textbook norms', which cover only a tiny amount of the relevant linguistic variation admitted by medieval grammarians. This textbook norm is at times significantly more innovative than certain other varieties and therefore obstructs insight into the linguistic history of Arabic and Semitic more generally. Incessant classicisation over the centuries of most Classical Arabic material has almost entirely erased many of the linguistic features that were once considered to be part of 'Classical Arabic' from our extant texts. But the Qur'ānic reading traditions, due to them being historically transmitted traditions which paid the utmost care to transmit many specificities of phonology, phonetics and morphology provide an excellent example of some of this linguistic variation 'in the wild', and at times even retain features and phonetic conditions which do not get described as such by medieval grammarians. As such, the reading traditions are of the utmost importance to the linguist, be they concerned with Arabic or Semitic more generally. It is hoped that this book will therefore provide insight into the linguistic diversity of not just Arabic in general but Classical Arabic specifically to linguists interested in such matters.

A third audience I hope to reach with this work are (Semitic) philologists who are concerned with the recitational traditions of religious languages. Professor Geoffrey Khan has been one of the foremost researchers concerned with the highly precise orthoepy of the Tiberian Hebrew reading tradition. He has occasionally commented on similarities between this Judaeo-Arabic tradition and the Islamic Arabic tradition of *qirā'āt*, sometimes drawing insightful parallels between both their ideological framing and details of recitation. Concerns with orthoepy of oral texts are not just limited to the Qur'ān and the Hebrew Bible, of course. Among Semitic languages we may think of the Syriac tradition, but we also see a notable concern with orthoepy regarding the recitation of the Vedas by the Brahmins in India and the recitation of Buddhist Sanskrit Sutras among the Japanese monks, and of course in the reading tradition of Church Latin all over Catholic Europe. The list goes on. As Ferguson

(1996, 66) aptly pointed out: "It is hard to imagine any set of religious beliefs which includes no 'shoulds' about verbal behavior." It is my belief that there is much to be gained from a comparative study of orthoepic traditions across the world. But to do so, these traditions need to be made accessible in a form that allows people who may not know all of the source languages to conduct such comparative research. Geoffrey Khan's sublime translation of *Hidāyat al-qārī'* and his linguistic commentary (Khan 2020a; 2020b), one of the inspirations for the current work, is in my opinion an important step towards helping the accessibility of the highly specialised orthoepic traditions. It is my hope that this book, too, will aid in the further development of the nascent field of 'comparative orthoepy'.

My final audience are Muslims from around the (especially English-speaking) world. While the science of the variant reading traditions of the Qur'ān has always been a preserve of specialists of the Islamic sciences, the growing access to the internet and the ever-increasing digitisation of Islamic texts, Qur'ānic manuscripts and social media platforms to talk about them has made this something of a hot topic in public discourse in recent years. The topic of variant readings frequently features in anti-Islamic polemics as well as in Muslim apologetics in discussions about the preservation of the Qur'ān.

As an outsider to the Muslim community, I do not think it is my place to weigh in on such issues. However, I do notice that discussions of this topic are often mired in confusion and misinformation, and have in the past caused significant but ultimately unnecessary consternation. The *qirā'āt* are undeniably central to the Qur'ān. Moreover, awareness, study and transmission of the *qirā'āt* has been a solid and formal part of the Islamic tradition for well over a millennium. This is not dangerous or subversive knowledge; it is a central part of Islamic sciences. The reading traditions are a fascinating, beautiful and robust discipline that embraces and delights in diversity. It is my hope that my translation will be of use to Muslims interested in this topic, and that it may even be of use in didactic context within confessional education.

I have designed this book to have a similar arrangement to Geoffrey Khan's translation of *Hidāyat al-qārī'*, adopting his useful bipartite structure. The first part of the book, which you are reading right now, aims to provide preliminary background knowledge about terminology and the history of transmission. It also aims to summarise, in a manner accessible to linguists and others for whom tables are more illustrative than flat prose, the main topics of

generalisable linguistic rules to be found in the *Taysir*. These form a distinct chapter which summarises the *ʿuṣūl* ‘general principles’ of the seven reading traditions.

I.1.1. Editions and Manuscripts

The current translation of al-Dānī’s *Taysir* is based primarily on Otto Pretzl’s magnificent 1930 edition that goes by the German title *Das Lehrbuch der sieben Koranlesungen* (al-Dānī 1930). I chose this critical edition because of its extremely useful layout with a running header indicating the *sūrah* number and numbered lines for each variant, without excessive footnoting. This makes the book a short and manageable 228 pages, and easy to navigate for the user. Being more than 70 years old, it is moreover in the public domain and can be easily downloaded online.⁵

It is not entirely without problems, however. There are a number of typos, misreadings, genuine mistakes and occasionally unusual choices, much to the chagrin of Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍāmin who published a new edition of the text in 2008. He considered the quality of Pretzl’s edition to be disastrous and attached a 64-page list of corrections of said edition.⁶

It should be clear that I do not share al-Ḍāmin’s level of animosity towards this edition, but I do acknowledge that Pretzl made a number of blunders. I have evaluated al-Ḍāmin’s 64-page list of corrections and adapted my translation where necessary. In such cases I placed a footnote following the correction. On occasion, when the manuscripts I accessed agree with Pretzl or when one of the many corrections is mentioned as a reading in one of the manuscripts by Pretzl himself in the footnote, I have chosen to follow Pretzl instead.

I have refrained from using the al-Ḍāmin edition as the basis because it is not in public domain, its layout is much harder to navigate, and the footnotes are often excessive. Moreover, al-Ḍāmin has intervened in the text every time al-Dānī says that a certain reading has already been mentioned. Al-Ḍāmin has, quite unjustifiably, simply interpolated said text again, rather than give a cross-reference to the earlier mention. As a result, the edition is about twice as long, and turns what should be a small and accessible learner’s manual into

⁵ A PDF of the Pretzl edition may be downloaded here: <https://opendata.uni-halle.de//handle/1981185920/100673>.

⁶ Two other editions have been published since al-Ḍāmin’s, one by al-Ṣaḡdalī (al-Dānī 2015) and another by Ibn ‘Azzūz (al-Dānī 2016).

an unwieldy tome. My wish was to retain some of the useability of the *Taysīr* in its original composition in the current translation.

I have introduced some paragraphing absent in the original manuscripts and quite sparingly present in the Pretzl edition. I have placed a superscript ^(P:###) at the end of a paragraph where the page break in the Pretzl edition happens, allowing for easy reference to it.

Being among the most popular texts on the *qirā'āt*, the *Taysīr* survives in an astounding number of copies. A quick perusal of online catalogues of digitised manuscripts, turns up at least six copies; on occasion I felt the need to check a reading of Pretzl or al-Dāmin in these. For the reader's convenience I provide a list below. It is certainly not exhaustive but may be of use:

1. Princeton NJ, Princeton University Library, Garrett no. 2230Y: <https://dpul.princeton.edu/catalog/9s1618783> (dated 13th century?);
2. Princeton NJ, Princeton University Library, Garrett no. 213Y: <https://dpul.princeton.edu/catalog/sq87bx20m> (dated 734/1333);
3. Princeton NJ, Princeton University Library, Garrett no. 630H: <https://dpul.princeton.edu/catalog/dc7m01bx319> (dated 12th century?);
4. Princeton NJ, Princeton University Library, Yemeni Manuscript Digitization Initiative, no call number: <https://dpul.princeton.edu/catalog/m326m300f> (dated 1076/1663);
5. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Landberg 864: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001C42500000000> (dated 1149/1736);
6. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 6176 (44v–125v): <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100315141> (dated 1156/1743).

I.2. 'Abū 'Amr al-Dānī and the *Taysīr*

'Abū 'Amr 'Uṭmān b. Sa'īd al-Dānī (371/981–444/1053) was born in Córdoba and spent some time in Cairo. He eventually returned to Andalusia and settled in Denia, whence his *nisbah*. He is well-known for having authored a large number of field-defining works in the Qur'ānic sciences (Penelas 2014). Most notable among these are his expert manual on the seven reading traditions, *Ġāmi' al-bayān fī al-qirā'āt al-sab'* (al-Dānī 2007), his simplified

students' manual, *al-Taysir fī al-qirā'āt al-sab'* translated here, his 'masoretic' manual on the Qur'ānic consonantal text, *al-Muqni' fī ma'rifat rasm maṣāḥif al-'amṣār* (al-Dānī 1978), his manual on Qur'ānic verse division, *Ġāmi' al-bayān fī 'add 'āy al-Qur'ān* (al-Dānī 1994), his manual on *tağwīd* (Qur'ānic orthoepy), *al-Taḥdīd fī al-'itqān wa-l-tağwīd* (al-Dānī 2000), and his manual on Qur'ānic vocalisation, *al-Muḥkam fī naqṭ al-maṣāḥif* (al-Dānī 2017). With these works, al-Dānī has covered essentially every aspect of the formal structure of the Qur'ān, and even today each one remains among the most comprehensive and indispensable works on the topic.

The *Taysir* specifically becomes a central work in the Qur'ānic sciences. While it was not the first work to present a simplified system of two transmitters for each of the seven readers—that honour goes to 'Abū al-Ṭayyib Ibn Ḡalbūn (d. 398/998)—the Maghrebi/Andalusi specialists quickly converge on what Shady Nasser has dubbed “the two-*Rāwī* canon” after al-Dānī's seminal work (Nasser 2013b). Al-Dānī's influence is still felt in the modern curriculum of Qur'ānic recitation today because of the famous didactic poem by 'Abū al-Qāsim b. Fyarruh⁷ al-Šāṭibī (d. 590/1194), *Ḥirz al-'amānī wa-waḡḥ al-tahānī*, colloquially known as *al-Šāṭibiyyah*, which summarises the contents of the *Taysir* into highly encoded dense poetic lines. The *Šāṭibiyyah* is the main text today by which students learn the details of the seven reading traditions.

While al-Dānī's *Taysir* effectively becomes the basis for what is now the standard transmission of the seven reading traditions according to the 'canon' of two standard transmitters each, it does not seem like this was al-Dānī's intention. As the title *al-Taysir* (*The Facilitation*) suggests, and the introduction of the book (see U.1.) explicitly relates, the system of two *rāwīs* for each of the seven readers was a way to make accessible the complex data of the discipline without getting lost in endless details and reports (Nasser 2013a, 45–46). The very fact that his *Ġāmi' al-bayān* completely eschews such a systematic two-*rāwī* canon and includes many other transmissions beside the two now-standard *rāwīs* without any negative evaluation, clearly suggests that al-Dānī did not conceive of his manual as being an authoritative 'canonisation' with the aim to reduce the number of transmissions, even though it ended up having this effect.

⁷ Frequently transcribed as *firruh* or sometimes even *fiyyurah* (*sic*). But this is of course the Spanish name *Fierro*.

I.3. Names of the Readers and 'isnāds

Al-Dānī describes the seven readings with two transmitters each, and for each of these he brings an *'isnād* (a chain of transmission from earlier authorities) through *tilāwah* (a full recital of the Qur'ān) and *riwāyah* (a formal transmission of the specific features of a reading tradition).

Table 3: The names of the readers and transmitters

district	reader	first transmitter	second transmitter
Medina	Nāfi' (d. 169/785)	Qālūn (d. ca. 220/835)	Warš (d. 197/812)
Mecca	Ibn Kaṭīr (d. 120/738)	Qunbul (d. 280/904)	al-Bazzī (d. 250/864)
Basra	'Abū 'Amr (d. 154/770) ⁸	'Abū 'Umar al-Dūrī (d. 246/860) [<i>'ahl al-ʿIrāq, al-Baḡdādiyyūn</i>]	'Abū Šu'ayb al-Sūsī (d. 261/874) [<i>'ahl al-Raqqah</i>]
Damascus	Ibn 'Āmir (d. 118/736)	Ibn Ḍakwān (d. 242/856)	Hišām (d. 245/859)
Kufa	'Āšim (d. 129/745)	'Abū Bakr Šu'bah ⁹ (d. 174/809)	Ḥafṣ (d. 180/796)
Kufa	Ḥamzah (d. 156/773)	Ḥalaf (d. 229/844)	Ḥallād (d. 220/835)
Kufa	al-Kisā'i (d. 189/804)	'Abū 'Umar al-Dūrī (d. 246/860)	'Abū al-Ḥārith al-Layṭ (d. 240/854)

⁸ Throughout the *Taysīr* al-Dānī frequently refers to himself (or possibly his students transmitting the text refer to him) as 'Abū 'Amr (his own *kunya*). This may sometimes leave the reader confused about whether we hear the author's voice, or the book is quoting the canonical reader 'Abū 'Amr. For clarity's sake I have always added [al-Dānī] in brackets when the text is referring to al-Dānī.

⁹ Šu'bah has become the normal way to refer to this transmitter, in part because this is the name the *Šāṭibiyyah* uses, but al-Dānī consistently used 'Abū Bakr.

The chart above gives an overview of the names of the transmitters. In some cases, names listed here are not typically used in the *Taysīr* but have become conventional in more recent works. I listed the latter here for convenience. The typical names used by al-Dānī are marked in boldface when multiple options are possible.

It is worth commenting on the somewhat unusual reference to the two transmitters of 'Abū 'Amr. While these are commonly called by their eponyms, sometimes we find that they are not named al-Dūrī and al-Sūsī, but rather designated as a group, '*ahl al-ʿIrāq* 'the people of Iraq' and '*ahl al-Raqqah* 'the people of Raqqah', for al-Dūrī and al-Sūsī respectively. This is related to the fact that the 'al-Dūrī' *ʿisnād* does not exclusively go through al-Dūrī but also through Iraqi/Baghdadi contemporaries of his. This practice is not exclusive to al-Dānī but also seen, and clearly pointed out, by Makkī b. 'Abī Ṭālib (1982, 207). The same is found in a number of other works as well.¹⁰

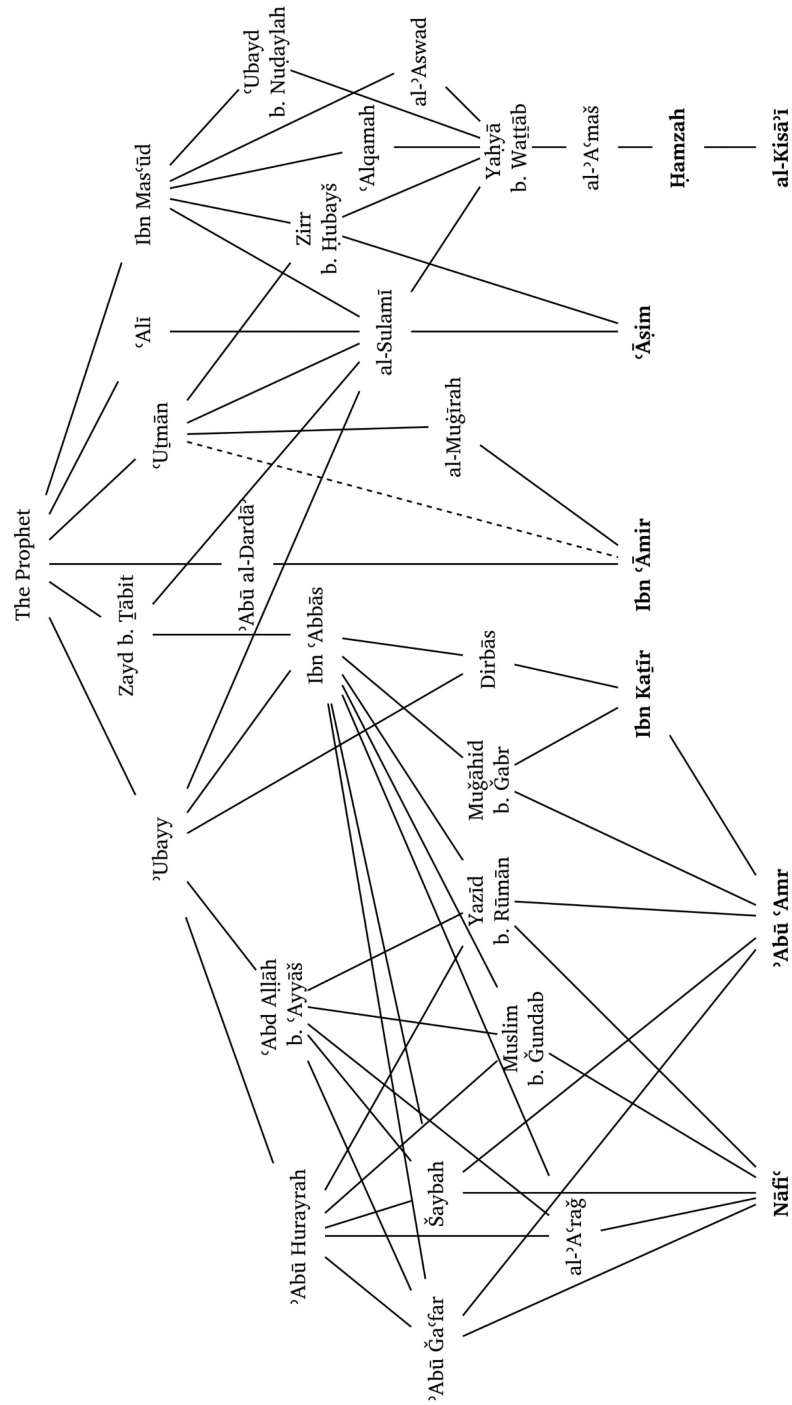
These are sometimes even mentioned explicitly by name in the *Taysīr*, although they are not mentioned in the *ʿisnād* section of this work (U.4.3.1.). Members of '*ahl al-ʿIrāq* that feature in the *Taysīr* are 'Abū Ḥallād (d. 261/875), 'Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Yazīdī (d. 284/897), 'Aḥmad b. Ğubayr (d. 258/872) and 'Abū Ḥamdūn (d. ca. 240/855). '*Ahl al-Raqqah* on the other hand does actually refer to *students* rather than contemporaries of al-Sūsī (who eventually moves to Raqqah, in modern-day Syria, where he takes on disciples).

I.3.1. '*ʿIsnāds* Back to the Prophet

The seven readers described by al-Dānī in the *Taysīr* are all given a chain of authoritative teachers of the Qurʾān from whom they learned their reading, traced back to the Prophet. Not all the teachers of the canonical readers are given an explicit chain back to the Prophet. These 'dead ends' are not represented in the chart but can be found in the translation.

¹⁰ On the history of the '*ahl al-ʿIrāq*/*ahl al-Raqqah* denominations, see Van Putten (forthcoming).

Fig. 1: Transmission paths from the Prophet to the eponymous readers

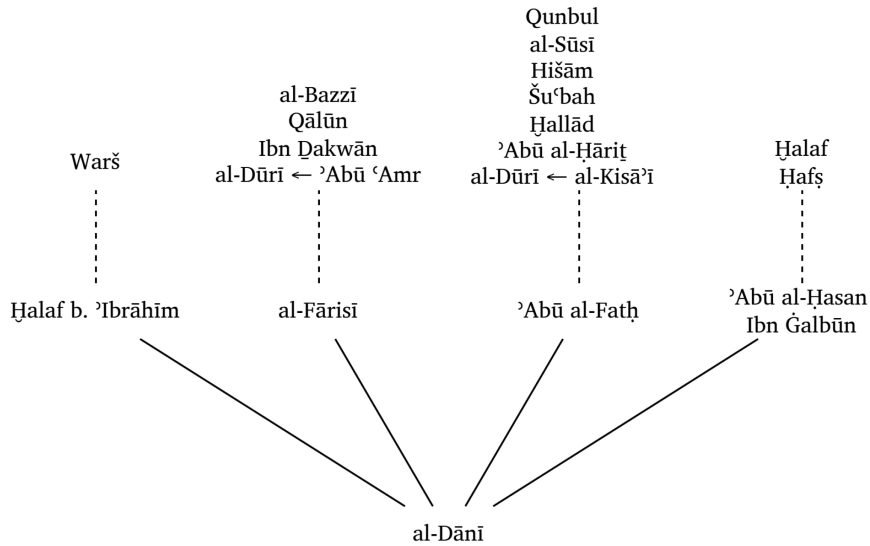


I.3.2. Al-Dānī's Teachers through *tilāwah* Transmission

Al-Dānī's two most prominent teachers through *tilāwah* are 'Abū al-Faṭḥ Fāris b. 'Aḥmad (d. 401/1010) and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Fārisī (d. 413/1023). 'Abū al-Faṭḥ is his teacher for one of the transmitters for each of the seven readings. Al-Fārisī is a teacher for the other transmission for al-Bazzī ← Ibn Kaṭīr, al-Sūsī ← 'Abū 'Amr and Ibn Ḍakwān ← Ibn 'Āmir. 'Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḡalbūn (d. 399/999), whose own *qirā'āt* work on the eight readings (i.e., the seven and Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī) has come down to us (Ibn Ḡalbūn 1991) is his teacher for Ḥafṣ ← 'Āṣim and Ḥalaf ← Ḥamzah.

With respect to the transmission of Warṣ ← Nāfi', it is notable that al-Dānī did not receive this reading from his most prominent teachers. Rather, he records his transmission of this reading tradition from the Egyptian Warṣ specialist, Ḥalaf b. 'Ibrāhīm (d. 402/1012), through whom he inherits an exceptionally short *'isnād* to Warṣ. Warṣ had been the dominant transmission in Egypt, the Maghreb and al-'Andalus seemingly as long as the Maliki legal school had been dominant in the region—Nāfi' was 'Imām Mālik's favoured reading (Ibn Muḡāhid 1972, 62)—and it is still dominant in the Maghreb today.

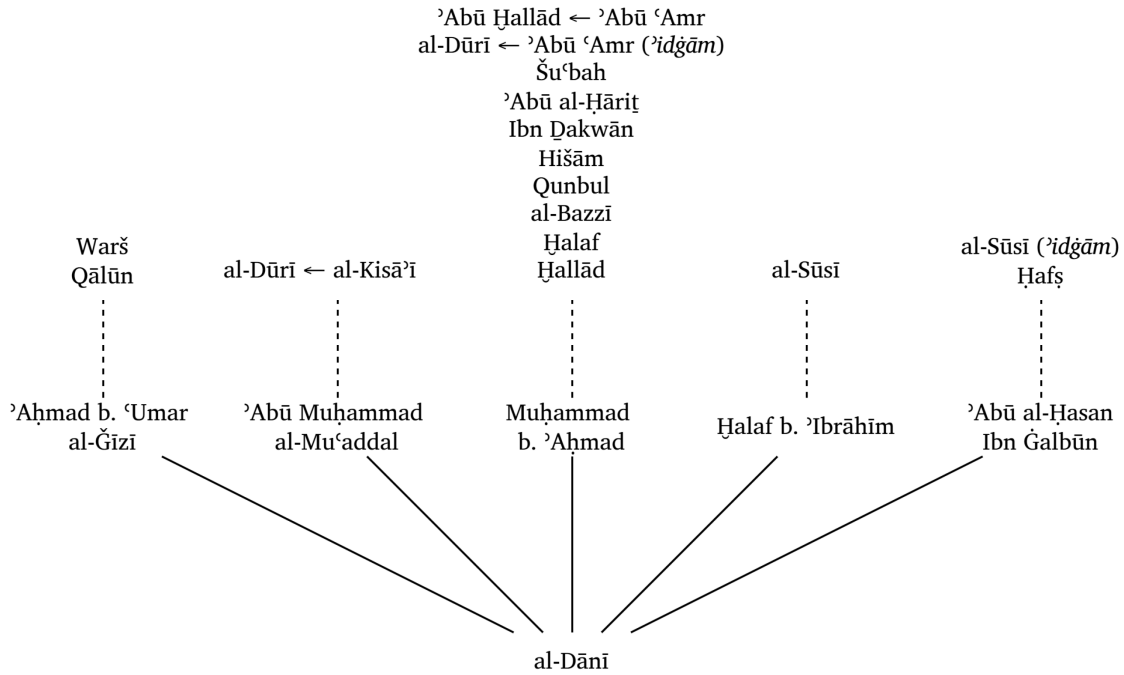
Fig. 2: The teachers of al-Dānī through *tilāwah* and the readings they transmitted



I.3.3. Al-Dānī's Teachers through *riwāyah* Transmission

For the *riwāyah* transmission there is one teacher who is by far the most prominent in the *Taysīr*, namely 'Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Baḡdādī (d. 399/1009), who was the last of Ibn Muḡāhid's direct students to transmit his *Kitāb al-sab'ah* (al-Ḍahabī 1995, I:683). Indeed, virtually all *riwāyah* transmissions of 'Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad go through Ibn Muḡāhid. This is the case for his transmission for five of the seven reading traditions. Namely, Ibn Kaṭīr (both transmitters), Ibn 'Āmir (both transmitters), Ḥamzah (both transmitters), Šu'bah ← 'Āšim and 'Abū al-Ḥārīṭ ← al-Kisā'i.¹¹

Fig. 3: The teachers of al-Dānī through *riwāyah* and the readings they transmitted



Only the transmission of 'Abū 'Amr does not go through Ibn Muḡāhid, but rather through 'Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad b. Qaṭan (d. 325/937). The principles of major assimilation (*'uṣūl al-'idgām*), a type of transmission specific to 'Abū 'Amr (see I.3.4.3.), do go through Ibn Muḡāhid.

¹¹ Al-Ḍahabī indeed tells us that al-Dānī learned the contents of Ibn Muḡāhid's *Kitāb al-sab'ah* from him (al-Ḍahabī 1995, I:774).

While Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad is the most prominent teacher through *riwāyah* transmission, there are four others: 'Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḡalbūn (d. 389/999) is the transmitter for Ḥafṣ ← 'Āṣim, Ḥalaf b. 'Ibrāhīm for al-Sūsī ← 'Abū 'Amr, and 'Abū Muḥammad al-Mu'addal for al-Dūrī ← al-Kisā'i. Finally, the Egyptian 'Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Ġīzī (d. 399/1009) is the teacher for both transmissions of Nāfi'.

I.3.4. The 'isnāds for the Seven Readers

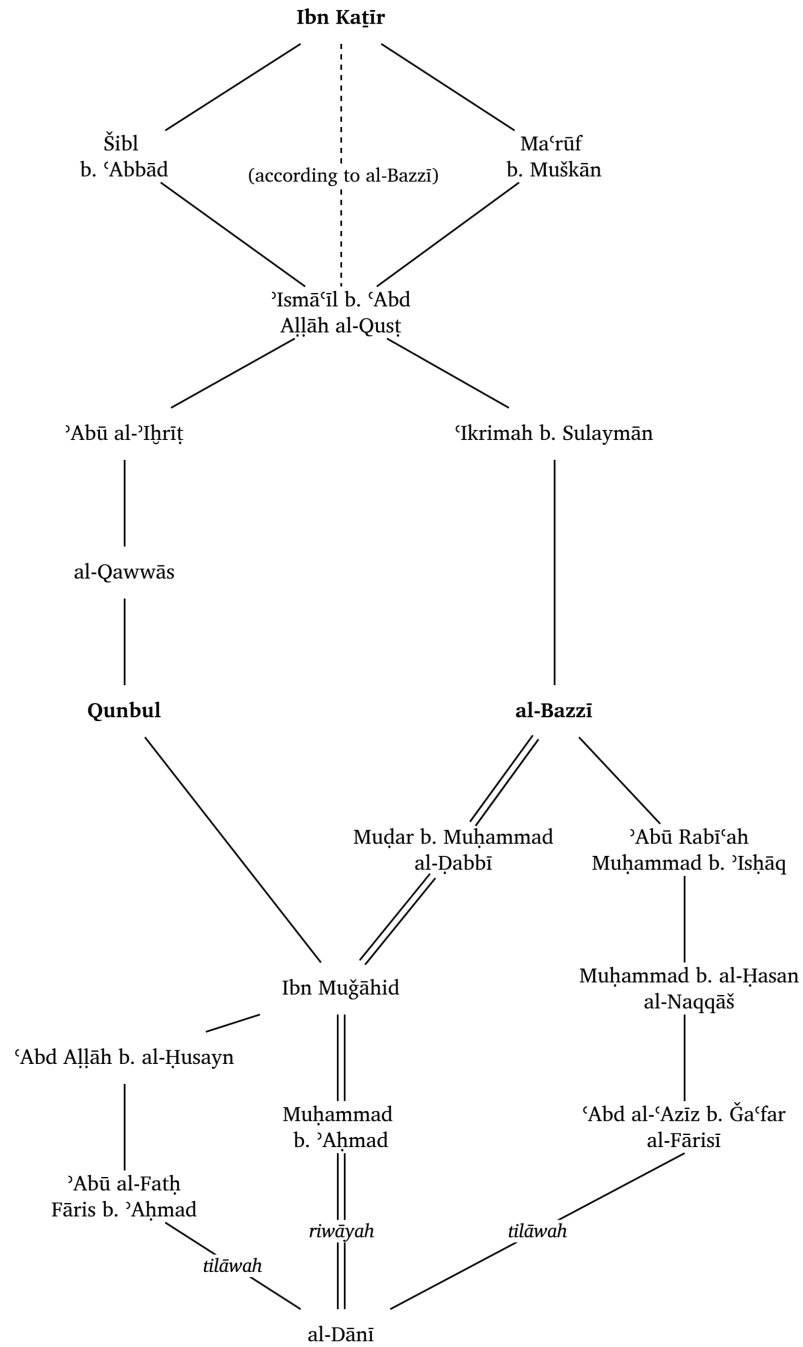
The next seven charts are the 'isnāds as they run from the eponymous readers to al-Dānī. The figures considered the two transmitters are marked in bold. For each transmitter al-Dānī brings a chain of transmission back to the eponymous reader through formal transmission of the variants (*riwāyah*), marked with a double-banded connection, and one through a full recital of the Qur'ān (*tilāwah*), marked with a single-banded connection. If both the *riwāyah* and *tilāwah* transmission are said to go through an authority, the connection is indicated with three bands. For the 'isnāds for 'Abū 'Amr, there is a separate transmission for the *'uṣūl al-'idḡām* 'the principles of assimilation', a complex feature specific to his reading tradition (see I.6.1.). These principles are only transmitted through *riwāyah*.

These 'isnāds are not all the 'isnāds available to al-Dānī, and in his *Ġāmi' al-bayān* he cites many more. While the listed 'isnāds are ostensibly the main paths through which al-Dānī presents the data, not infrequently he refers to other paths in the main text of the *Taysīr* that are not mentioned in the 'isnād section when these differ in some way from the main transmission. It is not easy to tell why he feels the need to go beyond the transmission paths discussed in the 'isnād section, while he refrains from doing so in other places. Whenever this occurs, I provide a footnote in the edition with a reference to the 'isnād in the transmission path of the *Ġāmi' al-bayān*. Sometimes, however, al-Dānī gives transmission paths that are even absent from this larger and more complete work of his. When he cites authorities whose books we have access to, I have tried to provide information from there.

I.3.4.1. Nāfi'

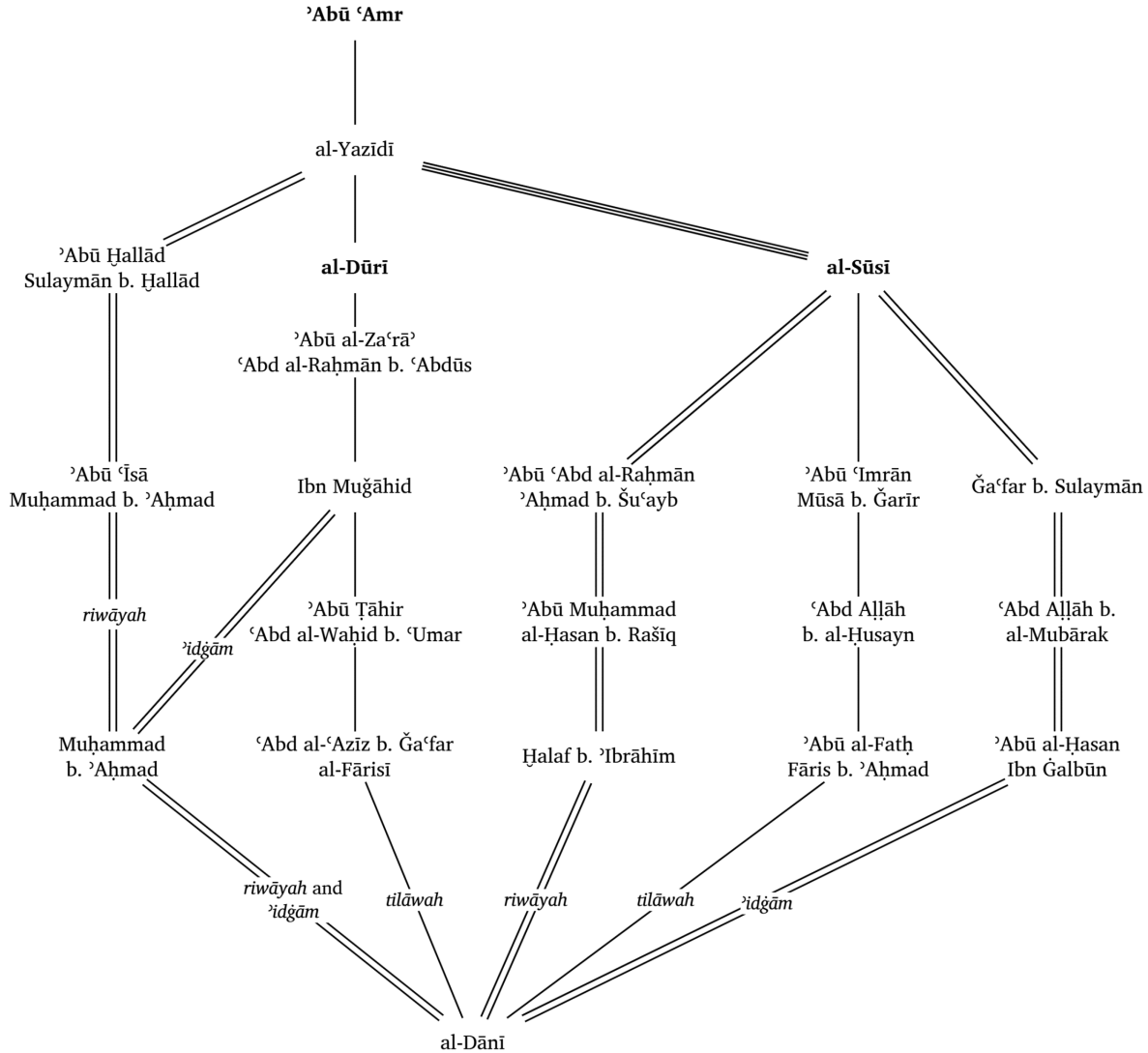
Fig. 4: The *'isnāds* for Nāfi'

I.3.4.2. Ibn Kaṭīr

Fig. 5: The *ʿisnāds* for Ibn Kaṭīr

I.3.4.3. 'Abū 'Amr

Fig. 6: The 'isnāds for 'Abū 'Amr

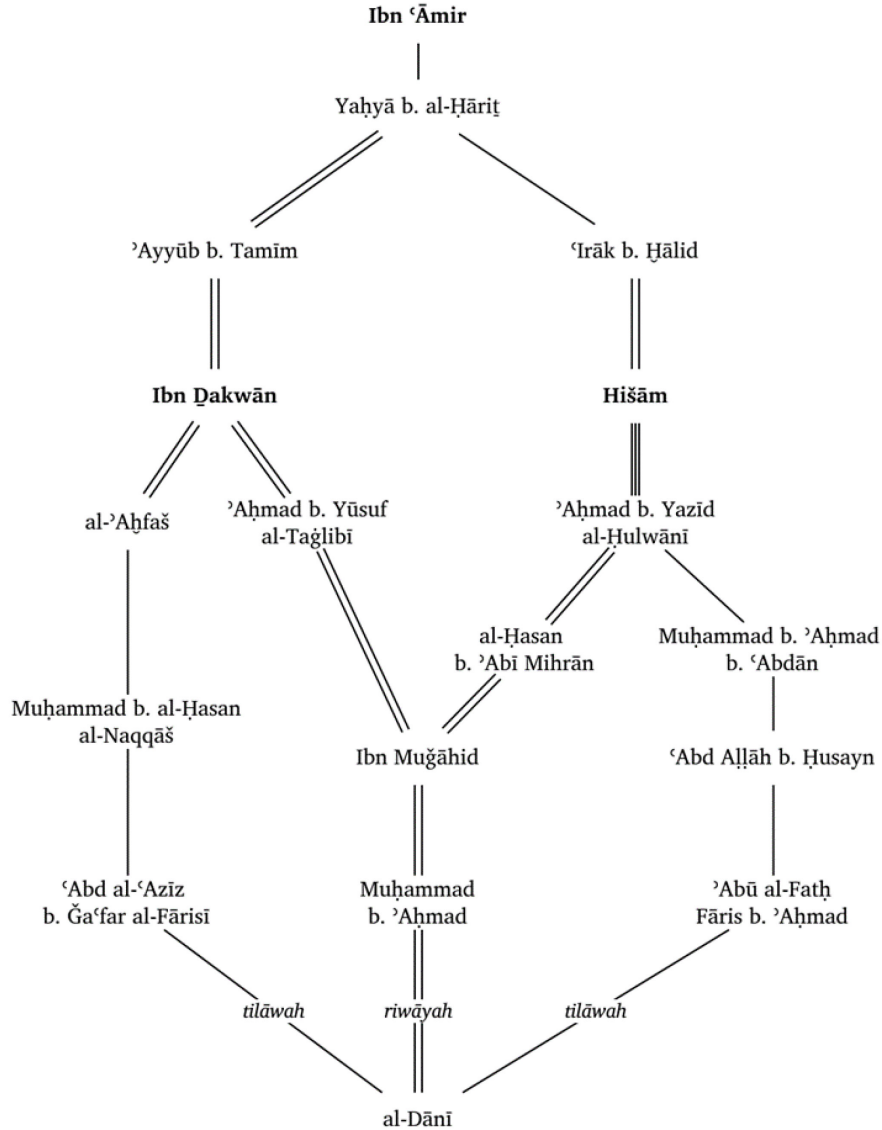


A striking feature of the 'isnāds that al-Dānī presents for al-Dūrī is that while his *tilāwah* 'isnād goes through al-Dūrī ← al-Yazīdī ← 'Abū 'Amr, the *riwāyah* path does not go through al-Dūrī, but rather through 'Abū Ḥallād Sulaymān b. Ḥallād (d. 261/875) ← al-Yazīdī (d. 202/818). As mentioned above, al-Dānī occasionally refers to 'the people of Iraq' ('*ahl al-ʿIrāq*') rather than al-Dūrī specifically. This is a conventional way of referring to the reading

as recited by al-Dūrī and other transmitters from Iraq, who are said to have transmitted a virtually identical reading as al-Dūrī from al-Yazīdī.

I.3.4.4. Ibn ʿĀmir

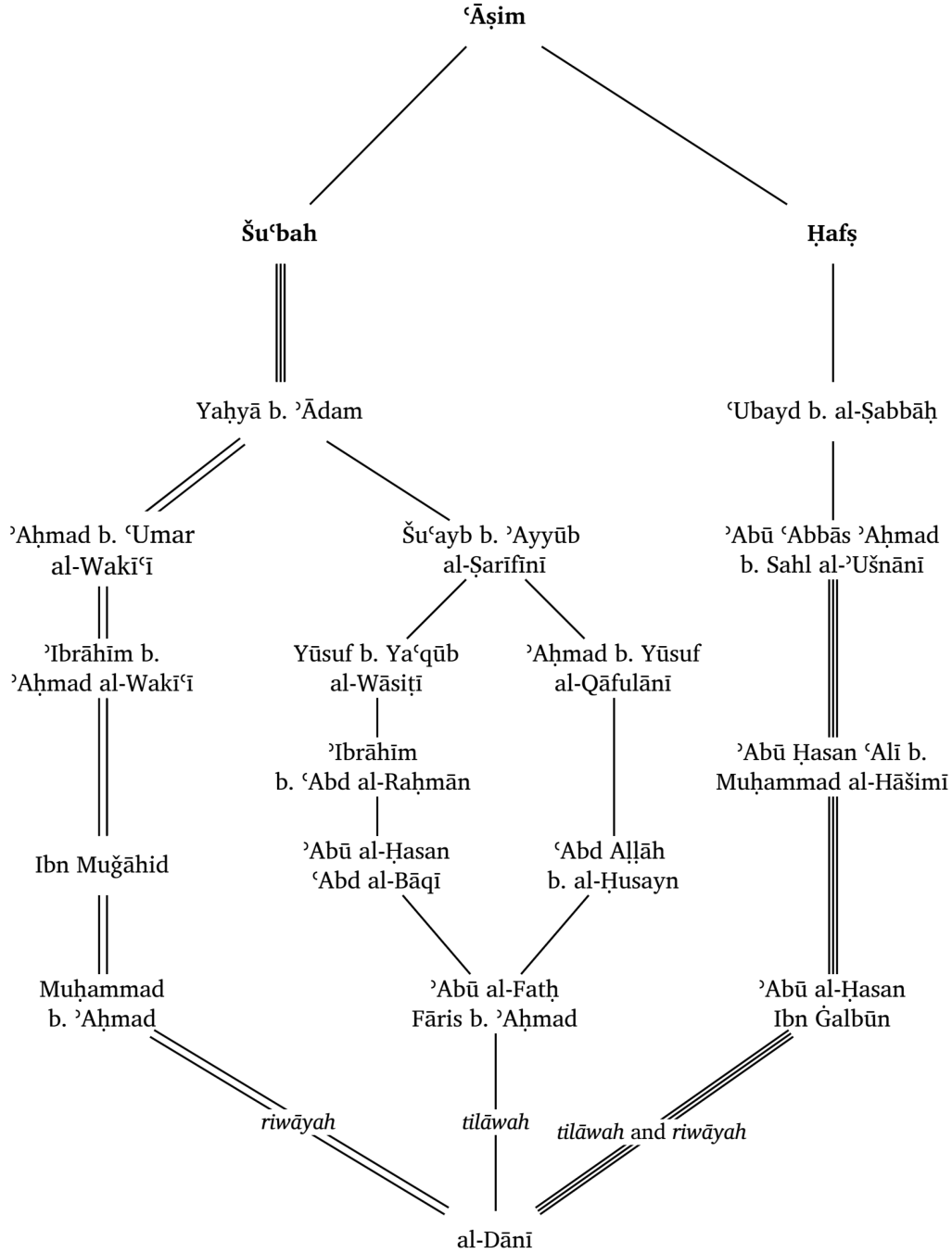
Fig. 7: The *ʾisnāds* for Ibn ʿĀmir



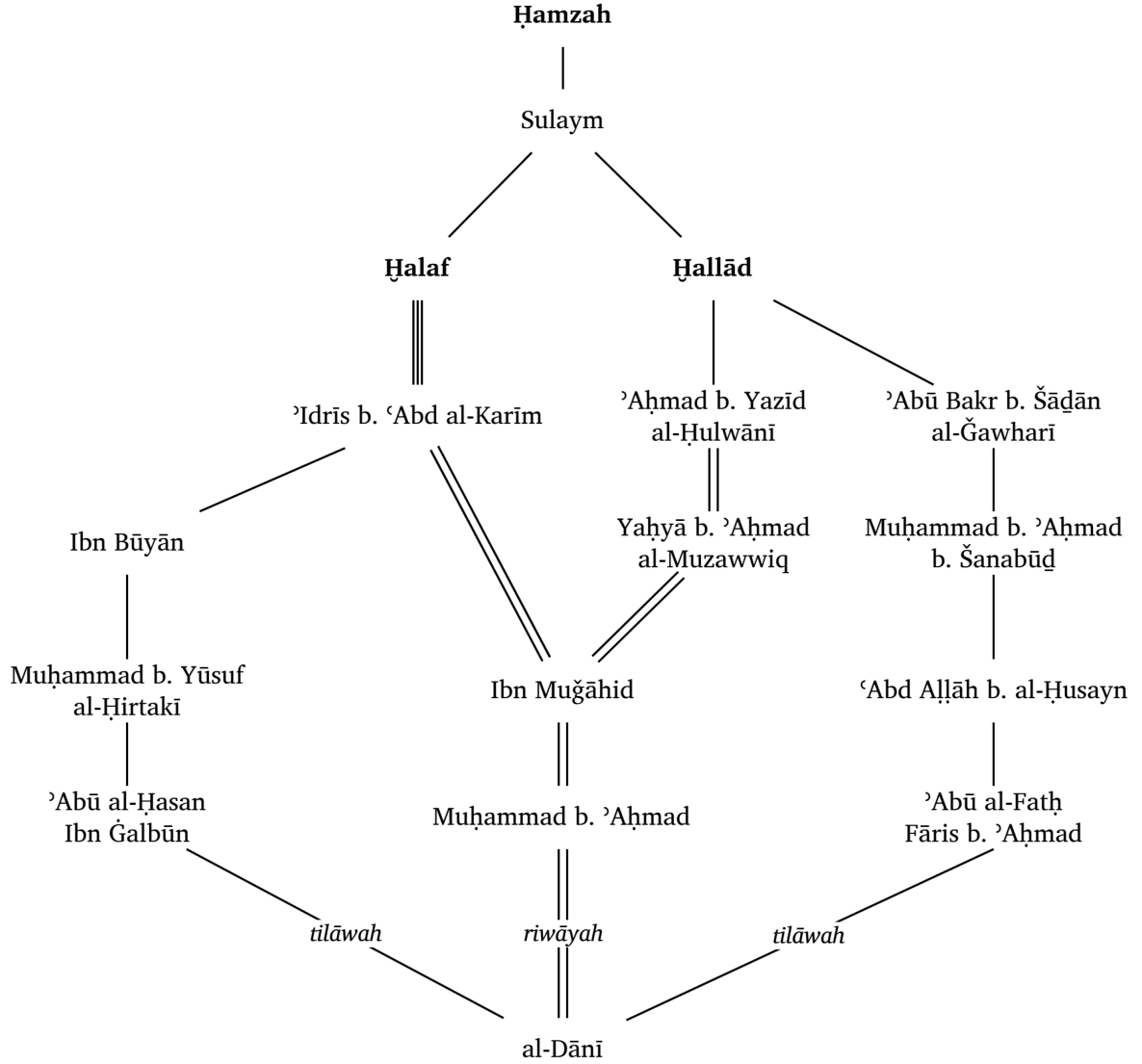
It is worth noting that neither *tilāwah* *ʾisnād* is purely *tilāwah* all the way back to Ibn ʿĀmir. In other words, the transmission of this reading is not an uninterrupted chain of students reciting the whole Qurʾān to their teacher.

I.3.4.5. 'Āṣim

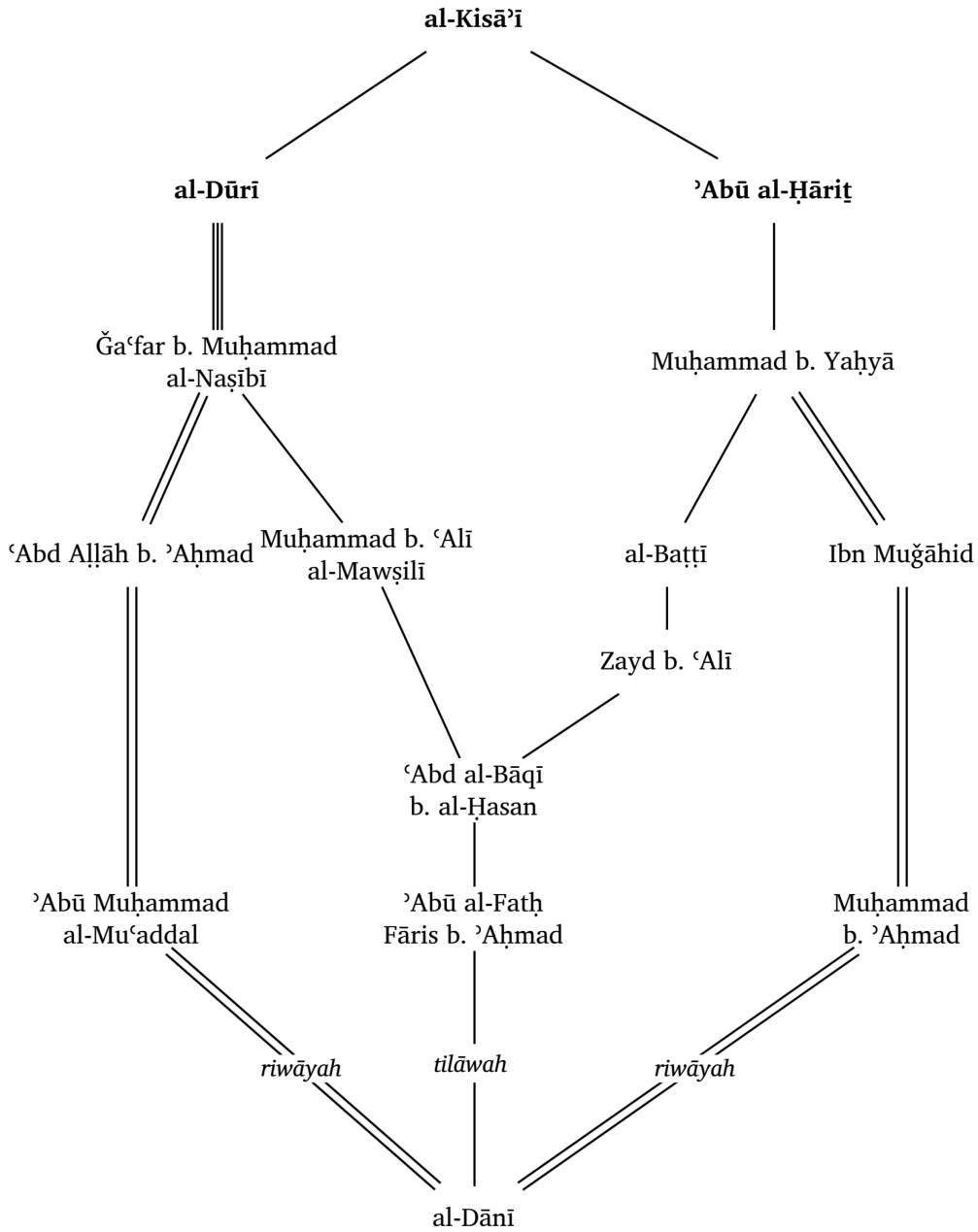
Fig. 8: The 'isnāds for 'Āṣim



I.3.4.6. Ḥamzah

Fig. 9: The *ʿisnāds* for Ḥamzah

I.3.4.7. al-Kisā'i

Fig. 10: The *ʿisnāds* for al-Kisā'i

I.4. An Introduction to Some Technical Terms

The *qirāʾāt* genre is a highly technical science with terminology that do not easily translate into English without giving the wrong impression. It is moreover closely related to and largely overlaps with the vocabulary of the Arabic linguistic tradition. The following is an alphabetical list of some of the terms relevant to the *Taysīr*. My general approach has been to render these terms into the terminology of modern linguistics where an approximately equivalent term exists. However, in some cases such translations would give the wrong impression or be overly wordy and therefore not helpful for the readability of the translation. For example, I have left *naṣb* untranslated rather than rendering it as ‘accusative’, which would be misleading since verbs can take *naṣb*, or as ‘inflectional *a* vowel’, which would be accurate, but no easier to understand for the reader than *naṣb*. If I have left words untranslated in the main text, I give the literal meaning of the term (indicated with ‘lit.’) here. If I do translate it, I give the gloss after the term. Many of these technical terms are explained in more detail in the rest of this introduction. In the list below, I give references to the subsections where these terms are discussed in more detail.

The meanings of several words in these lists are not quite in line with how they are used today, or how they are used in other *qirāʾāt* works or in the grammatical tradition. I have tried to be mindful of these differences and highlight them where necessary. This list is first and foremost intended as a guide to how al-Dānī uses those terms, even though these will frequently transfer to other works as well. When al-Dānī’s use is in some way remarkable, I made note of this.

ʾalif al-istifhām ‘the interrogative ʾalif’: the sentence-initial particle ʾa- that introduces a yes/no question. The treatment of this particle in front of a word beginning with a *hamzah* differs among the readers. See I.6.2.1.

ʾalif al-qatʿ lit. ‘the ʾalif of division’: a word-initial ʾalif that carries a *hamzah*.

ʾalif al-waṣl lit. ‘the ʾalif of connection’: the ʾa, ʾi or ʾu which is pronounced when starting on a word (*ibtidāʾ*) after a pause and dropped in connected speech (*waṣl*), e.g., *ibn*, *uḥkum* and the definite article *al-*. See I.5.5.

ʾalif mamdūdah ‘lengthened ʾalif’: a stem-final *ā* followed by *hamzah* which is pronounced overlong (see *madd*), e.g., *samāʾun* ‘sky’. In Modern Standard Arabic it is typical to use this term to refer to word-final *-ā* spelled with ʾalif. This is a modern usage. For al-Dānī

and other medieval authors, it always refers to *ā* followed by *hamzah* (or, rarely, *hamzah* followed by *ā*).

'alif maqṣūrah 'shortened 'alif': a word-final *-ā* (or *-ē*, *-ā̃*), regardless of whether it is written with 'alif or *yā*'. In Modern Standard Arabic it is typical to call the word-final *-ā* written with *yā* the 'alif maqṣūrah, whereas the word-final *-ā* written with 'alif is called the 'alif mamdūdah. This is a modern innovation, and this is not how medieval grammarians or qirā'āt works referred to them. They considered both spellings 'alif maqṣūrah.

'aṣl 'general principle': a reading tradition consists of (1) general rules that apply to each word meeting certain phonological or morphological conditions and (2) specific variants pertaining to particular words of the Qur'ān. The former are called 'uṣūl 'general principles' (sg. 'aṣl) and the latter *farṣ al-ḥurūf*, lit. 'spreading out of the letters'. Note that al-Dānī does not use the term 'aṣl to refer to the consonantal root, or underlying form, as it is often employed in the grammatical tradition.

'aṣliyy 'pertaining to the root': when a consonant is part of the triconsonantal root, it may be called 'aṣliyy. This is contrasted with *zā'id* 'extra' which refers to any prefix, suffix, or infix that can be added to a root. See I.5.1.

'ārid 'accidental': this term is used in the philosophical sense and contrasted with *lāzim* 'essential'. Al-Dānī employs this in cases where a surface form deviates from what he assumed to be the underlying form. This is sometimes relevant because he considers certain rules to operate on the underlying form. Thus, the two *yā*'s in Q65:4 *wa-llāyi ya'isna* may not assimilate because the *yā*' of the first word is accidental: a *hamzah* underlies it (see U.8.1). This is opposed to *lāzim* 'essential', i.e., an inherent part of the word.

bayna bayn '(the realisation of *hamzah*) in between (i.e., a full *hamzah* and a glide)': a hiatus between two vowels. See I.5.4.3.

bayn al-lafḍayn '(the sound) in between the two sounds (i.e., *fath* and 'imālah)': the vowel quality *ä*. See I.5.2.2.

binā lit. 'construction, masonry': a non-inflectional vowel of a word. See I.5.1.

ḍawāt al-yā', al-wāw, al-rā' lit. 'those of the *yā*', *wāw*, *rā*': refers to words whose root has a stem final *yā*', *wāw* or *rā*'.

ḍamm lit. 'bunching up': the application of a non-inflectional vowel *u*. See I.5.1.

farṣ al-ḥurūf 'the specific variants': specific variants of readings; see the discussion under 'aṣl.

fath lit. ‘opening’: the application of a non-inflectional vowel *a* (see I.5.1). It may also refer to the absence of *ʾimālah*.

hāʾ al-kināyah ‘the anaphoric *hāʾ*’: the third person masculine pronominal suffix. See also *ṣilat al-hāʾ*.

hāʾ al-taʾnīt ‘the feminine *hāʾ*’: the feminine suffix *-ah*.

hamz ‘applying the *hamzah*’: the application of the glottal stop.

ḥafḍ lit. ‘lowering’: the application inflectional vowel *i*, a synonym for *ğarr*. See I.5.1.

ʾibdāl ‘replacement’: replacing a *hamzah* with a *wāw*, *yāʾ* or *ʾalif* (see I.6.2.2. and I.6.2.3). This is sometimes referred to as *qalb* instead.

ibtidāʾ ‘beginning’: starting after a pause. See I.5.5.

ʾidhāl ‘insertion (of an *ʾalif*)’: insertion of an *ʾalif* between the *ʾalif al-istifhām* and a word that starts with *hamzah*. See I.6.2.1.

ʾidgām ‘assimilation’: the complete assimilation of a consonant to a consonant that follows. This may even include two identical consonants, such as in *ʾan naḥsin* → *ʾan-naḥsin* which is conceived of in Arabic grammatical theory as the complete loss of the final *nūn* that does not carry a vowel while geminating the next *nūn*.

ʾidgām al-miṭlayn ‘assimilation of two identical (letters)’: the assimilation across short vowels (*al-ʾidgām al-kabīr*) when the two consonants are identical. See I.6.1.1.

ʾidgām al-mutaqāribayn ‘assimilation of two (letters) close to one another’: the assimilation across short vowels (*al-ʾidgām al-kabīr*) when the two consonants are close in place of articulation, see I.6.1.2.

ʾidgām bi-ğayr ġunnah ‘assimilation without nasalisation’. See I.5.4.4.

ʾidgām bi-ğunnah ‘assimilation with nasalisation’. See I.5.4.4.

al-ʾidgām al-kabīr ‘major assimilation’: assimilation of two consonants across a short vowel. See I.6.1.

ʾidhār ‘unassimilated pronunciation’. See I.5.4.4.

ʾihfāʾ al-nūn lit. ‘the hiding of the *nūn*’: place of articulation assimilation of *n*. See I.5.4.4.

ʾihfāʾ al-ḥarakah lit. ‘the hiding of the vowel’: ultrashort realisation of a vowel. See I.5.3.1.

ih̥tilās 'ultrashort pronunciation': ultrashort realisation of a vowel. See I.5.3.1. It occasionally refers also to cases in which a vowel is pronounced as a regular short vowel where phonological rules would predict a long vowel. The antonym of **ʾiṣbā'**.

ʾimālah lit. 'inclination': the vowel quality *e*. See I.5.2.1.

ʾi'rāb lit. 'Arabisation': an inflectional final vowel. See I.5.1.

ʾiskān lit. 'making quiescent': the lack of the application of a vowel to a letter. See I.5.1.

ʾisnād lit. 'to base oneself on something': a formal chain of transmission.

isti'āḍah lit. 'to ask for help': to pronounce the formula *ʾa'ūdū bi-llāhi min aṣ-ṣayṭāni r-raḡīm* 'I seek refuge with God from the accursed Satan' before the commencement of recitation.

ʾiṣārah 'hinting at (the **ʾi'rāb** in pause)': a general process that refers to the options of using labialisation (**ʾiṣmām**) or *rawm* vowels to hint at final short vowels in pausal position. See I.5.3.1.

ʾiṣbā' 'full pronunciation': the antonym of **ih̥tilās**.

ʾiṣmām al-zāy al-ṣād lit. 'giving the scent of the *zāy* to the *ṣād*': the sound *ṣ*. See I.5.4.1.

ʾiṣmām al-ḍamm lit. 'giving the scent of the *ḍammah*': either the front rounded vowel *ü*, or labialisation of a consonant. See I.5.2.3. and I.5.4.2.

ḡarr lit. 'pulling': the application inflectional vowel *i*, a synonym for **ḥafḍ**. See I.5.1.

ḡazm lit. 'cutting off': the application of the inflectional absence of a vowel. See I.5.1.

ḡunnah 'nasalisation'. See I.5.4.4.

kasr lit. 'breaking': the application of the vowel *i*. See I.5.1.

lāzim 'essential': used in the philosophical sense and opposed to **ʾarīḍ** 'accidental'. See there for a more detailed discussion.

madd '(over)length': a polysemous term. It typically refers to the overlong pronunciation of a vowel but has a number of less specific usages in the *Taysīr*. See I.5.3.2.

madd munfaṣil 'overlength across a word boundary': overlong pronunciation between two words. See I.5.3.2.

madd muttaṣil 'overlength within a word': overlong pronunciation within one word. See I.5.3.2.

mīm al-ḡam' 'the *mīm* of plurality': the final *m* of masculine plural pronouns: *hum*, *-hum/him*, *ʾantum*, *-tum*, *-kum*.

munfaṣil ‘divided’: an adjective that refers to a process that takes place across word boundaries.

muttaṣil ‘connected’: an adjective that refers to a process that takes place within one word.

naql lit. ‘transportation’: the process of dropping the post-consonantal *hamzah*. See I.6.2.4.

naṣb lit. ‘erecting’: the application of an inflectional vowel *a*. See I.5.1.

qalb ‘change’: the changing of one consonant into another.

qaṣr ‘shortening’: pronouncing a long vowel with its regular length rather than over-long. See I.5.3.2.

qirā’ah ‘variant reading; reading tradition’: a polysemous word. It may mean one specific variant reading in the Qur’ān, or it may refer to a full reading tradition that prescribes the pronunciation of the Qur’ān from start to finish.

rafʿ lit. ‘raising’: the application of an inflectional vowel *u*. See I.5.1.

rasm lit. ‘trace’: the standard consonantal skeleton of the Qur’ān.

rawm lit. ‘intending’: reduced pronunciation of word-final *u* and *i* in pause. See I.5.3.1.

riwāyah ‘report’: a polysemous term. When it is contrasted with *tilāwah*, it refers to a specific manner of transmission of information, namely the documentation of the specific features of a reading tradition, from a teacher to a student. In the formal chains of transmission (*ʿasānīd*, sg. *ʾisnād*) this is indicated with the phrase *ḥaddaṭanā fulān* ‘so-and-so related to us’. The term is also used in a less formal manner throughout the book to mean ‘transmission path’, which may either have been related through *tilāwah* or *riwāyah*. Typically, this usage occurs in a construct phrase, e.g., *riwāyat fulān* ‘the transmission path of so-and-so’, whereas when it refers to the specific manner of transmission it is used adverbially, i.e., *riwāyatan*.

ṣilah lit. ‘link’: an additional *yāʾ*, *wāw* or *ʾalif* added to a word in connected speech (*waṣl*) which is typically absent in the consonantal writing of the text and the pausal form.

ṣilat al-hāʾ lit. ‘the link of the *hāʾ*’: the *wāw* or *yāʾ* that may be added to the third person masculine singular suffix (*hāʾ al-kināyah*) in connected speech (*waṣl*). See I.6.6.3.

ṣilat mīm al-ğamʿ lit. ‘the link of the *mīm* of the plural’: the *wāw* (and outside the canonical readings also *yāʾ*) that may be added to the final *mīm* of masculine plural suffixes (*mīm al-ğamʿ*) in connected speech (*waṣl*). See I.6.6.4.

tafḥīm 'emphatic pronunciation': a term with a number of different meanings. Usually, it refers to the backed pronunciation of *a* as *ā* (often, but not always in emphatic environments). Al-Dānī exclusively uses it to refer to *ṛ*, the emphatic allophone of *r*, distinct from *tarqīq* which refers to *ṝ*, the unemphatic allophone of *r*. See I.5.4.

taḡlīḍ 'thickening': pronouncing the *l* emphatically as *ḷ*. See I.5.4.

taḥqīq (al-hamz) 'realisation (of the *hamzah*)': the antonym of *tashīl al-hamz*, used to refer to the proper realisation of the glottal stop.

tahrik 'application of a vowel': applying a vowel to a consonant.

tahfīf 'lightening': a polysemous term. It may be the antonym of *tašdīd* 'gemination', when discussing consonants, in which case it refers to a lack of gemination. It may also be the antonym of *tatqīl* 'making heavier' which refers to the stem being in some way heavier than the form with *tahfīf*. A word becomes heavier by having more vowels, or by having gemination (which usually means more vowels as well). Thus, *quds* is described as *muḥaffaf* compared to the *muṭaqqal* form *quḍus* (see F.2:87) and *li-tukmilū* is *muḥaffaf* while *li-tukam-milū* is *muṭaqqal* (F.2:185). I have decided to make explicit what this term refers to in the translation. This leads to different translations such as *muḥaffaf* as 'ungeminated', 'without an extra vowel' and *muṭaqqal* as 'geminated' (thus translated the same as *mušaddad*) or 'with an extra vowel'.

takbīr lit. 'to make great': to pronounce the formula *Allāhu 'akbar* 'God is most great'.

tamkīn 'strengthening': making a long vowel sound overlong. See I.5.3.2.

tarqīq 'making thin': the antonym of *tafḥīm*, refers to *ṝ*, the unemphatic allophone of *r*. See I.5.4.

tashīl (al-hamz) 'to soften (the *hamzah*)': softening the realisation of the *hamzah* so that it disappears completely (*naql*), shifts to a glide consonant (*'ibdāl*), or becomes a hiatus (*bayna bayn*).

tasmiyah lit. 'to pronounce the naming': to pronounce the *basmalah*, i.e., *bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm* 'in the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful'.

tašdīd 'gemination': gemination of a consonant.

tatqīl 'making heavy': making a word in some way heavier (see *tahfīf*).

tagwīd lit. 'making something excellent': the Qur'ānic science concerned with the orthoepic pronunciation of the Qur'ān. This is a separate discipline from *qirā'āt*, but a *qirā'ah* 'reading tradition' cannot be recited without it.

tilāwah lit. ‘recitation’: this refers to a specific manner of transmission of information that is contrasted with *riwāyah*. A *tilāwah* transmission involves the recitation of the Qur’ān to a teacher, according to a certain reading tradition. In the formal chains of transmission this is indicated with the phrase *qara’tu bihā (al-qur’āna kullahū)* ‘*alā fulān* ‘I recited according to it [i.e., a specific transmission] (the whole Qur’ān) to so-and-so’. Within the main text of the *Taysir* this type of transmission is also frequently referred to with the phrase *fī qirā’atī* ‘*alā fulān* ‘in my recitation to so-and-so’.

waqf ‘pause’. See I.5.5.

waṣl ‘connected speech’. See I.5.5.

yā’āt al-’idāfah ‘the yā’s of annexation’: the first-person singular suffix *-ī* and *-nī* which have the allomorphs *-iya* and *-niya*. These surface in different places among different reading traditions. See I.6.6.5.

al-yā’āt al-mahḍūfāt min al-rasm ‘the yā’s removed from the *rasm*’: the Qur’ān contains many places, usually in pausal or verse-final positions, where a word-final *-yā’* (writing word-final *-ī*) is absent while the underlying form is expected to have it. Different reading traditions deal differently with such dropped yā’s depending on the reading, position, pause and lexical category. See I.6.6.6.

zā’id ‘extra’, see *’aṣliyy* and the discussion at I.5.1.

fī al-ḥālayn ‘in both situations’: usually employed to mean ‘in both connected speech and in pause’, but sometimes ‘in both connected speech and when starting on a word after pause’. I have made explicit which is meant in the translation when this phrase occurs.

I.5. Phonology and Phonetics

In Qur’ānic recitation, there is an astounding number of phonetically distinct realisations of the vowels. There are six different vowel qualities (*i, e, ā, a, ū, u*), and a vowel may have up to four different quantities (ultra-short, short, long, overlong). In total this leads up to no less than 20 distinct phonetic realisations. However, which vowels are used specifically varies wildly per reader, although it is worth noting that among the seven, only Ibn Kaṭīr has the six-vowel system (*a, i, u, ā, ī, ū*) of standard Classical Arabic (not counting the non-phonemic overlong vowels). The chart below gives an overview of the available vowel qualities among the canonical readings.

Table 4: The different vowel qualities among the readings

	front	front rounded	back
Close	ī, i, ī, î	ū, û	ū, u, ū, û
mid-close	e, ē, ê		
mid-open	ä, ā, â		
open	ā, a, ā, â		

I.5.1. Basic Vowels

The terminology and conceptualisation of al-Dānī's and other *qirā'āt* works rests solidly in the Arabic grammatical tradition. As such, the underlying form plays a central role in the derivational framework. The underlying form (which grammarians usually call *ʾaṣl*, not used in this meaning by al-Dānī) is a platonic ideal of the underlying word form from which a surface form is to be derived. Such an underlying form is described orthographically, that is, it is conceptualised as letters (*ḥurūf*) that carry vowels (*ḥarakāt*). Despite this 'written' conceptualisation of phonologically underlying forms, it does not mean that the grammarians or al-Dānī take the written surface form as the basis. For example, the underlying form of *hāḍā* would have two *ʾalifs*, even though orthographically it is spelled with only one (هَذَا).

Table 5: The names of the vowels in Arabic grammatical terminology

	inflectional	non-inflectional
<i>a</i>	<i>naṣb</i>	<i>fath</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>ḥafḍ, ǧarr</i>	<i>kasr</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>rafʿ</i>	<i>ḍamm</i>
zero	<i>ǧazm</i>	<i>ʾiskān</i>

Al-Dānī describes vowels using two sets of terms, as is common for most of the linguistics-related writing after Sībawayh; although there is an early Kufan usage that is somewhat

different (Versteegh 1993, 18). One set is used for word-final inflectional endings (*ʾiʿrāb*), and the other for all other non-inflectional vowels (*bināʾ*).

Long vowels are conceived of as consisting of *a*, *i* and *u* followed by a *ḥarf madd wa-līn* (i.e., *ʾalif*, *yāʾ* and *wāw*) that does not carry a vowel (i.e., *ʾiskān*). Besides this, an important distinction is the *ḥarf ʾašliyy* ‘root consonant’, which is any consonant that is part of the three consonantal roots, and the *ḥarf zāʾid* ‘stem letter’, which is a consonant added to a root for word-formation. While this distinction is not important everywhere, it has an important impact on how the dropping of *hamzah* in pause is treated (U.11.6.). A long vowel that is a root consonant is not changed when *hamzah* is dropped, whereas a long vowel that is a ‘stem letter’ assimilates to the following *hamzah* if it is dropped.

as-sūʾu | al-SuWʾu | > as-sū#

al-qurūʾu | al-QuRuWʾu | > al-quruww#

I.5.2. Other Vowel Qualities

Besides the three cardinal vowels there are three other vowel qualities used in the Qurʾānic reading traditions: *ʾimālah*, *bayn al-lafḍayn* and *ʾišmām*.

I.5.2.1. ʾImālah

The most prominent of these is the *ʾimālah* ‘inclination’. *ʾImālah* refers to the inclination of the cardinal vowel quality *fath* towards the cardinal vowel quality *kasr*, thus landing in between with a quality *e*. In modern discussions of *ʾimālah*, this term is often seen as a historical sound shift from [a] > [e]. This is not how it should be analysed in the Qurʾānic reading traditions nor, in fact, in much of the discussion of *ʾimālah* among medieval grammarians. As medieval grammarians are quite explicitly synchronic in their descriptions, taking these as historical sound shifts applies an interpretation to their work that is not present in their own scope.

Moreover, in many cases where medieval grammarians speak about *ʾimālah*, it cannot be analysed as a synchronic shift of [a] → [e] either, as the realisation [e] often cannot be predicted from its phonetic environment or its surface form, and in such cases the *ʾimālah* vowel must be thought of as phonemic. This applies to most cases of *ʾimālah* that occur in the Qurʾānic reading traditions. In most cases *ʾimālah* concerns the long vowels [e:], but in a

few isolated cases the short realisation [e] occurs as well. In the descriptions of the Qur'ānic reading traditions, *ʾimālah* must be thought of as a purely phonetic description of the high-mid front vowel [e].

While reading traditions generally make use of some *ʾimālah*, for most it is restricted to isolated words that do not form a regular class. For example, the reading of Ḥafṣ ← 'Āṣim has *ʾimālah* exactly once in the whole Qur'ān, namely *mağrēhā* (Q11:41). As such words cannot be pronounced otherwise, they must certainly be thought of as phonemic within the recitation system. Several readings even have 'positional minimal pairs', that is, two identical words which, other than the place where they are recited, have no obvious reason to be recited with or without *ʾimālah*, yet it would be a mistake in recitation to mix the two forms up. In one case, we even see both forms of the same word used within the same verse.

Table 6: Examples of lexically determined *ʾimālah*

location	word	location	word	reader
Q2:138	ʿābidūna	Q109:3, 5	ʿēbidūna	Hišām ← Ibn 'Āmir
Q13:19, etc.	ʾa'mā	Q17:72 (2x)	ʾa'mē	Šu'bah ← 'Āṣim
Q17:72 (2nd), etc.	ʾa'mā	Q17:72 (1st)	ʾa'mē	'Abū 'Amr
Q41:51	na'ā	Q17:83	na'ē	Šu'bah ← 'Āṣim

In this regard, the Qur'ānic reading traditions are not much different from the Tiberian Hebrew tradition where, as Suchard (2018, 200) points out, *kōl* 'all' in Gen. 3:17 and *kāl* 'all' in Ps. 35:10 and Prov. 19:7, are lexically, syntactically and morphologically the same form which occur in the same phonetic environment, and yet are distinguished in pronunciation, thus forming a minimal pair conditioned by the location in the text.

A good parallel example of this is found in Šu'bah's *ʾimālah* of *na'ē* in Q17:83 but not in Q41:51. These two verses are doublets, virtually identical and therefore the context of the two is indistinguishable, yet there is a difference of *ʾimālah* between the two:

Q17:83 wa-ʾidā ʾanʾamnā ʾalā l-ʾinsāni ʾaʾraḍa wa-naʾē bi-ḡānibihī wa-ʾidā massahu š-šarru kāna yaʾūsā#

Q41:51 wa-ʾidā ʾanʾamnā ʾalā l-ʾinsāni ʾaʾraḍa wa-naʾā bi-ḡānibihī wa-ʾidā massahu š-šarru fa-ḍū duʾāʾin ʾarīḍ#

And when we bestow favour upon man, he turns away and distances himself; and when evil touches him, Q17:83 he is ever despairing / Q41:51 then he is full of extensive supplication.

Not all positional contrasts have minimal pairs. Šuʿbah ← ʾĀšim recites the word *ramē* (Q8:17) with ʾimālah, but this is the only occurrence of this word. However, there is no obvious reason within the system of Šuʿbah why this word takes ʾimālah, which is isolated in this behaviour in his recitation. Besides these ‘positional phonemes’, however, there is also a more systematic phonemic contrast between *ē* and *ā* present in the Kufan readings of Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī. These will be discussed in more detail in section I.6.3. on the general principles.

I.5.2.2. Bayn al-lafḍayn

There is a sound pronounced in between the ʾimālah, i.e., *ē* [e:] and full *ā* [a:], which al-Dānī calls *bayn al-lafḍayn* ‘(the sound) in between the two sounds (*fath* and ʾimālah)’.¹² This suggests a realisation *ā̄* [æ:~ɛ:], i.e., a sound in between *ē* and *ā*.¹³ This vowel is only realised in its short form in the transmission of Warš ← Nāfiʿ of the word *rāʾā* [ræʔæ:] ‘he saw’. Otherwise it is always realised long.

I.5.2.3. ʾIšmām al-ḍamm

The term ʾišmām ‘giving smell’ is polysemous. It is used when a sound can be described as a ‘mix’ of two basic sounds of the Arabic language. Thus, the emphatic *ẓ* [zʕ] is described as ʾišmām al-zāy al-ṣād ‘giving the smell of the *zāy* to the *ṣād*’ (see section I.5.4.1. below). But even the specific term ʾišmām al-ḍamm is in fact polysemous and al-Dānī clearly uses it to refer to two different processes which he explicitly distinguishes in his work on *taḡwīd*, *al-*

¹² Other terms used are ʾimālah bayna bayn, ʾimālah ṣuḡrā (as opposed to regular ʾimālah, known as ʾimālah kubrā), and *taqlīl*.

¹³ In modern recitation the vowel is sometimes pronounced closer to an open-mid central vowel [ɜ:]. This is not necessarily in conflict with the description, although it strikes me that [ɛ:] is more apt.

Tahdīd (al-Dānī 2000, 96–97). There is *ʾiṣmām* applied to consonants, which amounts to a form of labialisation (see section I.5.4.2. below) and there is *ʾiṣmām* that applies to words such as *qūla* which to him evidently represents a process analogous to *ʾimālah*: “Just like you turn the *fathah* in words such as *min an-nēri* and *min nahērīn* and what is like them, when pure *ʾimālah* is intended, towards the *kasrah*, likewise, when *iṣmām* is intended, you turn the *kasrah* towards the *ḍammah*, because that is likewise like what has undergone *ʾimālah*” (*kamā yunḥā l-fathata min qawliḥi “min an-nēri” wa-“min nahērī” wa-ṣibhihimā, ʾidā ʾurīdat il-ʾimālatu l-maḥḍatu nahwa l-kasrati, fa-kaḍālika yunḥā bi-l-kasrati ʾidā ʾurīda l-ʾiṣmāma nahwa ḍ-ḍammati, li-ʾanna ḍālika ka-l-mumālī sawāʾā*). This clearly points to a vowel that mixes features of *u* and *i*, which corresponds to a front high long vowel *ū* [y:].¹⁴

I.5.3. Vowel Quantity

In the previous sections we have discussed the three basic vowel qualities of Arabic *a*, *i* and *u*, and the three derived vowel qualities *e*, *ā* and *ū*. As we already saw, the basic vowels occur as the long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū* as well, and the derived vowel qualities typically only appear as long *ē*, *ā̄*, *ū̄*, with minor exceptions of *ä* and *e* which occur as short vowels in specific cases (see U.14., F.6:76., 77.). But besides the two basic vowel quantities short and long, the reading traditions also have an ultrashort and an overlong realisation.

I.5.3.1. Ultrashort Vowels: *iḥtilās*, *ʾiḥfāʾ* and *rawm*

The term *iḥtilās* refers to the ultrashort realisation of a vowel. Al-Dānī in his *Tahdīd* says that “its pronunciation is hurried, so that a listener would think that the vowel had almost completely gone away due to the intensity of the hurrying” (*fa-ḥaqqahū ʾan yusraʿa l-lafḍu biḥi ʾisrāʿan yazunnu s-sāmiʿu ʾanna ḥarakataḥū qad dahabat min al-lafḍi li-ṣiddati l-ʾisrāʿi*). A synonym

¹⁴ Today, this is not the most popular realisation of this type of *ʾiṣmām*. While al-Dānī's distinction between *ʾiṣmām* applied to consonants (labialisation) and *ʾiṣmām* applied to long vowels like *ī* is clear, and an opinion adhered to by at least some reciters today, many modern reciters see it as the same process and pronounce *qīla* with labialisation: *q^wīla*. This is likely the result of the conflation of the two processes that bear the same name, although it could conceivably be a genuine separate outcome of the ancient **quwila* > *quila* > *q^wīla*.

which al-Dānī also uses is *ʾihfāʾ* *al-ḥarakah* or simply *ʾihfāʾ*¹⁵ (al-Dānī 2000, 95–96). One of the main contexts in which *iḥtilās*/*ʾihfāʾ* appears is as an epenthetic vowel to break up clusters of a consonant directly followed by a geminate consonant. This occurs occasionally with *iftaʿala* verbs where the infixed *tāʾ* assimilates to the following coronal root consonant. In these cases, al-Dānī uses *iḥtilās* and *ʾihfāʾ* interchangeably. Q4:154 as recited by Qālūn *taʿāddū* (← *taʿtadū*) is said to be pronounced ‘with *ʾihfāʾ* of the vowel of the *ʿayn* (*bi-ʾihfāʾi ḥarakati l-ʿayn*). Q10:35 as recited by Qālūn and ʾAbū ʿAmr *yahāddī* (← *yahtadī*) is described as ‘they apply *ʾihfāʾ* to the vowel of the *hāʾ*’ (*ʾannahumā yuḥfiyāni ḥarakata l-hāʾ*). But Q36:49 as recited by ʾAbū ʿAmr and Qālūn *yaḥāṣṣimūna* (← *yaḥtaṣimūna*) is described ‘with *iḥtilās* of the *fathah* on the *ḥāʾ*’ (*bi-iḥtilāsi fathī l-hāʾ*). In most of these cases the ultrashort pronunciation is not predictable from its direct phonetic environment and such vowels are therefore marginally phonemic within the phonologies of the reading traditions in which they occur.

While *iḥtilās* typically refers to the ultrashort pronunciation of a vowel, in some cases the term is seemingly used in a relative sense—pronounced shorter than its properly expected length (called *ʾiṣbāʾ*)—thus *iḥtilās* of a long vowel describes a regular short vowel. This usage is found when discussing cases where the third person masculine pronominal suffix *-hū/-hī* has a short form *-hu/-hi* in contexts where Classical Arabic grammar would typically require the long forms (i.e., after short vowels). For example, Qālūn’s recitation of *yuʾaddihī* (instead of *yuʾaddihī*) is expressed with the term *iḥtilās* (F.3:75).¹⁶

Another term which refers to a specific realisation of the short vowels *u* and *i* in pause (*waqf*) is *rawm*. Today, *rawm* is pronounced as an ultrashort vowel like *iḥtilās*, but it is not explicitly identified as a synonym for *iḥtilās*. Al-Dānī’s description suggests some kind of weakening of the sound, but whether this indeed entailed an ultrashort pronunciation like *iḥtilās* and not something else is difficult to tell: “It articulation is to weaken the sound of the vowel and you do not finish its articulation so that most of it has gone” (*fa-ḥaqqahū ʾan*

¹⁵ Not to be confused with *ʾihfāʾ al-nūn*/*ʾihfāʾ al-ḥarf* which has a very different meaning; see I.5.4.4. below.

¹⁶ In modern recitation these vowels are always pronounced short, not ultrashort, but there is nothing in al-Dānī’s description that makes an explicit distinction between these two senses of *iḥtilās*. One wonders whether the living tradition is correct in this case and al-Dānī does not actually intended *yuʾaddihī* and *yarḍahū* in such environments.

yuḍa'ʿifa ṣ-ṣawta bi-ḥarakatihi [...] wa-lā yutimma n-nuṭqa bihā, fa-yaḍhabu bi-dālika muḍamuhā) (al-Dānī 2000, 96).

Rawm is an alternative to dropping final short vowels altogether in pause. This option in recitation is certainly an artificial one, as it rather conspicuously breaks the rhyme of the text. For example, with *rawm*, Sūrat al-Fātiḥah in the recitation of Ḥaḥṣ ← 'Āṣim looks as follows (the now non-rhyming verse endings in boldface):

1. bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmⁱ#
2. al-ḥamdu lillāhi rabbi l-ʿālamīn#
3. ar-raḥmāni r-raḥīmⁱ#
4. māliki yawmi d-dīnⁱ#
5. 'iyyāka na'budu wa'iyyāka nasta'in^u#
6. ihdinā ṣ-ṣirāṭa l-mustaqīm#
7. ṣirāṭa llaḍina 'an'amta 'alayhim ḡayri l-maḡḍūbi 'alayhim wa-lā ḍ-ḍāllīn#

I.5.3.2. Overlong Vowels: *madd*

Besides ultrashort vowels, the *qirā'āt* also, much more commonly, have overlong vowels. For each of the canonical readings, whenever a long vowel is either followed by a *hamzah* or a geminate consonant within a word, the vowel is pronounced overlong, e.g., *as-samā'u* or *aḍ-ḍāllīna* (al-Dānī 2000, 98). This type of overlong realisation is adhered to by all readers and is typically called *madd muttaṣil* 'connected overlength'.¹⁷ There is disagreement, however, about how long vowels are handled when a *hamzah* stands at the beginning of the next word. Some of the readers will pronounce these long vowels overlong, while others keep their regular length.¹⁸ Lengthening across word boundaries is called *madd munfaṣil* 'divided overlength' (see U.10.).

Different from the other vowel lengths (long, short, ultrashort), the overlong vowel, referred to as *madd*, is completely predictable with the systems of the different readers¹⁹ and

¹⁷ This type of *madd* is well-attested outside of Qur'ānic recitation in non-Qur'ānic Arabic manuscripts, see Van Putten (2021b).

¹⁸ Long vowels across word boundaries are shortened, however, if the next word starts with a geminate or consonant cluster.

¹⁹ With the exception of the *madd* of al-Bazzī, see F.2:267.

therefore cannot be considered phonemic. Due to its non-phonemic status, I only transcribe the overlong vowels as such when it forms an explicit part of the discussion in the translation.

The term *madd* or its passive participle, *mamdūd*, suffers from a complex polysemy which is acknowledged by al-Dānī in his *Taḥdīd*. The letters 'alif, yā' and wāw are inherently *mamdūd* 'lengthened' (known as the *ḥurūf al-madd wa-l-līn*). As al-Dānī points out, this type of *mamdūd* 'lengthened' sound is called *maqṣūr* 'shortened' by the readers (al-Dānī 2000, 98). Overlong vowels are not infrequently called *mamdūd*, and the word thus refers to a vowel followed by a *hamzah*. This is also where the term 'alif *maqṣūrah* (a word-final 'alif) as opposed to the 'alif *mamdūdah* (a word-final 'alif followed by *hamzah*) comes from. Within the *Taysīr*, al-Dānī frequently refers to the term *madd* and intends the long vowel that precedes a *hamzah*:²⁰

Ḥamzatu wa-l-Kisā'iyyu: ḡa'alahū dakkā'a hunā bi-l-maddi wa-l-hamzi min ḡayri tanwīn, wa-l-bāqūna bi-t-tanwīni min ḡayri hamz.

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read ḡa'alahū dakkā'a here **with length** and a *hamzah* without *tanwīn*. The rest read it with *tanwīn* and without *hamzah* (i.e., *dakkan*). (F.7:143.)

Waršun: 'innamā n-nasiyyu bi-tašdīdi l-yā'i min ḡayri hamzin wa-l-bāqūna bi-l-hamzi wa-l-maddi wa-'iskāni l-yā'.

Warš reads 'innamā n-nasiyyu with gemination of the yā' without *hamzah*. The rest read it with *hamzah* **and length** and no vowel on the yā' (i.e., *an-nasī'u*). When Ḥamzah or Hišām pause, they follow Warš (i.e., *an-nasiyyu#*). (F.9:37.)

Ibnu Kaṭīrin: wa-kā'in ḡaytu waqa'a bi-'alifin mamdūdatin ba'dahā hamzatun maksūratun, wa-l-bāqūna bi-hamzatin maftūḥatin ba'da l-kāfi wa-yā'in maksūratin mušaddadah.

Ibn Kaṭīr reads *wa-kā'in* whenever it occurs **with an overlong 'alif** and after it a *hamzah* that carries a *kasrah*. The rest read it with a *hamzah* that carries a *fathah* after the *kāf* and a geminate yā' that carries a *kasrah*, and after that no vowel at all on the *nūn* (i.e., *ka-'ayyin*). We have already mentioned it in the chapter on pausing on what is written in the script. (F.3:146.)

'Abū 'Amrin: bihi 'ā-s-siḥru bi-l-maddi 'alā l-istifhām wa-l-bāqūna bi-ḡayri maddin 'alā l-ḡabar.

²⁰ Thankfully, al-Dānī almost always mentions the *hamzah* as well. For quite a number of medieval works, *madd* or *mamdūd* implies the presence of a following *hamzah* even without spelling it out.

'Abū 'Amr reads *bihi* 'ā-s-siḥru with **length** as an interrogative and the rest read it without length as a declarative (i.e., *bihi s-siḥru*). (F.10:81.)¹⁰

Ibnu Kaṭīr: *kāna ḥiṭā'an bi-kasri l-ḥā'i wa-faṭḥi ṭ-ṭā'i ma'a l-maddi wa-bnu ḍakwānin bi-faṭḥi l-ḥā'i wa-ṭ-ṭā'i min ḡayri maddin wa-l-bāqūna bi-kasri l-ḥā' wa-'iskāni ṭ-ṭā'.*

Ibn Kaṭīr reads *kāna ḥiṭā'an* with *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* and *faṭḥah* on the *ṭā'* with **length**. *Ibn Ḍakwān* reads it with *faṭḥah* on the *ḥā'* and *ṭā'* without **length** (i.e., *ḥaṭa'an*). The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* without a vowel on the *ṭā'* (i.e., *ḥiṭ'an*). (F.17:31.).

But besides instances where *madd* clearly means 'overlong vowel', al-Dānī also uses the term to refer to a *hamzah* followed by *ā*, a position where only Warš pronounces the vowel overlong (see U.10.1.), e.g.,

Ibnu Kaṭīr: '*mā 'ataytumū' bi-l-qaṣri wa-kadā fī r-Rūmi 'wa-mā 'ataytumū min riban' wa-l-bāqūna bi-l-madd.*

Ibn Kaṭīr reads *mā 'ataytumū* with a short vowel, and likewise in al-Rūm (Q30:39) *wa-mā 'ataytumū min riban*, and the rest read it **lengthened** (i.e., *'ātaytum*). (F.2:233.)

A final issue is that al-Dānī does not explicitly distinguish between 'a.a and 'ā, both of which are conceptualised underlyingly as |'aA|. The two may be denoted with *madd*, e.g.,

Ibnu Kaṭīr: '*a.an yu'tā bi-l-maddi 'alā l-istifhāmi wa-l-bāqūna bi-ḡayri maddin 'alā ḥabar.*

Ibn Kaṭīr reads '*a.an yu'tā* with **length** as a question, while the rest have it **without length** as a non-interrogative statement (i.e., *'an*). (F.3:73.)

I.5.4. Consonants

While there is significant variation as to both vowel quality and quantity among the seven readers, leading to quite different phonological vowel systems among them, the phonology of the consonants is more consistent. Only two phonemes (/z/ and /ṛ/) are not shared by all the reciters. The consonantal system of Qur'ānic recitation among the canonical readers can be summarised as in the table below. Whenever the transcription deviates from the IPA, I have added the IPA realisation between brackets.

The emphatic *l* is phonemic, but lexically restricted to the divine name *allāh*, and only if it is not preceded by the vowel *i*, in which context it merges with *l* (e.g., *li-llāhi*). In al-

¹⁰ Note that the interrogative 'a before the definite article becomes an overlong 'ā because it is followed by an unvowelled or geminate consonant.

Kisā'i's reading there is a minimal pair for this lexical item in isolated speech: #*allāh*# 'Allah': #*allāh*# 'the pre-Islamic goddess Allāt'. Warš uses *l* as an allophone of *l* when either directly preceded by *t*, *ṣ* or *ḍ*, or by an intervening *a* (see U.16.).

In modern recitation *ḍ* is frequently realised as [dʳ] and there is significant pressure in the community to conform to this realisation. However, the medieval manuals are unambiguous that the realisation should be [ɟʳ]. This is still adhered to especially outside of the Arabic-speaking world, primarily in the Indian subcontinent and Turkey.

Table 7: The consonants of the Qur'ānic reading traditions

	labial	interdental	denti-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
stop	<i>b</i>		<i>t</i> [tʰ] <i>d</i> <i>ṭ</i> [tʳ]	<i>ǧ</i> [d͡ʒ~j]	<i>k</i> [kʰ]	<i>q</i>		ʾ [ʔ]
fricative	<i>f</i>	<i>t</i> [θ] <i>d</i> [ð] <i>ḍ</i> [ðʳ]	<i>s</i> <i>z</i> <i>ṣ</i> [sʳ] (<i>ẓ</i> [zʳ])	<i>š</i> [ʃ]		<i>ḥ</i> [χ] <i>ġ</i> [ʁ]	<i>ḥ</i> [ħ] ʕ [ʕ]	<i>h</i> [h~ħ]
lateral fricative			<i>ḍ</i> [ɟʳ]					
nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>					
trill			<i>r</i> (r [rʳ])					
approximant			<i>l</i> <i>l</i> [lʳ]	<i>y</i> [j]	<i>w</i>			

The medieval description of *ǧ* is understood most naturally as describing it as a voiced palatal stop [j], but a realisation [d͡ʒ] can probably not be ruled out. In modern recitation [d͡ʒ] dominates but [j] can be heard among Sudanese reciters, which is an effect of their native dialect having [j] as the reflex of *ǧ*.

The alternation between *ṛ* and *r* for /r/ for most readers is completely predictable and therefore allophonic: *r* is used when *a*, *ā*, *u* or *ū* follow, and the unemphatic *ṛ* is used before *i* and *ī*. However, Warš uses the unemphatic *ṛ* in places where other readers have *r* (see U.15.).

Moreover, the rules where *ṛ* and *ṛ* are to be used have lexical exceptions which make the distinction between *ṛ* and *ṛ* phonemic for him, e.g., *imṛān* versus *siḥrān*, and *aḍ-ḍikra* but *ḍikran*.

Several other topics concerning consonantal realisation among the Qur'ānic reading traditions are worth discussing in more detail.

1.5.4.1. *ʾIṣmām al-zāy al-ṣād*

Most reciters lack *ẓ* [zʰ], but it is phonemic in Ḥamzah's recitation. Ḥalaf ← Ḥamzah reads *aḷ-ẓirāṭ* and *ẓirāṭ* whenever it occurs, while Ḥallād only reads it this way in Q1:6 *aḷ-ẓirāṭa*, thus forming a positional minimal pair with, e.g., Q36:66 *aṣ-ṣirāṭa*. The same phoneme also appears in *al-muḷayṭirūna* (Q52:37 and Q88:22). Both Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i have *ẓ* as a voiced allophone of *ṣ* whenever *d* follows, e.g., *ʾaḷdaqu* (see F.4:87).

1.5.4.2. *ʾIṣmām al-ḍamm*

When it concerns vowels, *ʾIṣmām (al-ḍamm)* refers to pronouncing the front-rounded vowel *ü*. However, the same term is also used to denote 'giving the smell' of *ḍamm* to a consonant. The place where this is an option for all of the seven readers is Q12:11 *taʾmanʿnā/tāmanʿnā*, alternatively realised with *iḥtilās/ʾiḥfāʾ* (i.e., *taʾmanūnā/tāmanūnā*). As this form is in the imperfect, the expected classical form is *taʾmanunā*, which does not fit the *rasm* (تامن). As a result, readers hint at the presence of this dropped *u* with assimilation across it by rounding the lips after the first part of the geminate *nūn*, i.e., adding labialisation (al-Dānī 2000, 96–97). *ʾIṣmām* of this type is also an option as a pausal pronunciation of word-final *-u* (see U.17.).

1.5.4.3. *Bayna bayn*

An underlying *hamzah* may have a surface realisation that is described as *bayna bayn* 'in between (the full realisation of the *hamzah* and a glide)'. This refers to a hiatus between two vowels, rather than a proper pronunciation of the glottal stop. It is typically found in cases where two *hamzahs* occur in a row, e.g., *ʾa.immah*, the plural of *ʾimām* (Q9:12).

1.5.4.4. *ʾIḥfāʾ al-nūn*, *ʾidḡām bi-ḡunnah*, *ʾidḡām bi-ḡayr ḡunnah*, *ʾiqlāb al-nūn* and *ʾiḍhār*

The *n* of a word that ends either in a word-final *nūn* or *tanwīn* can undergo partial or complete assimilation to the following consonant. These assimilations are referred to by a series of

different names depending on the precise change that takes place. Before the guttural consonants (i.e., *ḥ*, *ğ*, *ḥ*, *ʿ*, *ʾ* or *h*),²² the *n* does not assimilate and is pronounced in the realisation it takes pre-vocally (*ʾiḏhār*). Before *r* and *l*, the *n* assimilates completely to the next consonant without nasalisation (*ʾidgām bi-ğayr ġunnah*). Before *w* and *y*, the *n* assimilates completely, but with nasalisation (*ʾidgām bi-ğunnah*);²³ Ḥamzah drops all nasalisation of *w* and *y* in this context (see U.12.6.).

Strictly speaking, even word-final *nūn* or *tanwīn* before a word-initial *nūn* is considered *ʾidgām bi-ğunnah*. Since the articulation does not change, the linguistic term ‘assimilation’ does not function as a translation of *ʾidgām* as it does for other cases discussed here. *ʾIdgām* formally speaking means to remove an unvoiced letter and geminate the next one. This is also the reason why in printed Qurʾāns, and indeed in historical manuscripts, Qurʾānic or otherwise, no *sukūn* is placed on such a final *nūn* and the next *nūn* (or *wāw*, *yāʾ*, *rāʾ*, *lām*) is spelled with a *šaddah* (i.e., *عَنْ نَفْسٍ* for *ʾan-naḥsin*).

Table 8: Examples of assimilation of *n*

before consonant	broad transcription	close transcription	IPA
<i>ḥ</i> , <i>ğ</i> , <i>ḥ</i> , <i>ʿ</i> , <i>ʾ</i> , <i>h</i>	<i>bukmun ʿumyun</i>	<i>bukmun ʿumyun</i>	[buk ^h munʿumjun]
<i>w</i>	<i>man wuğida</i>	<i>maŋw^huğida</i>	[maŋw ^h uɟida]
<i>y</i>	<i>man yašāʾu</i>	<i>maŋyašāʾu</i>	[maŋjaʃa::ʔu]
<i>r</i>	<i>min rabbika</i>	<i>mir^hrabbika</i>	[mir ^h :ab:ik ^h a]
<i>l</i>	<i>ḥayrun laḥū</i>	<i>ḥayrul^hlaḥū</i>	[χajr ^h ul:ahu:]

²² ʾAbū Ḡaʿfar, one of the three readers after the ten, also applies *ʾiḥfāʾ* before *ḥ* and *ğ* (Ibn al-Ġazari 2018, §1923).

²³ In modern didactic practice of *tağwīd* a lot of emphasis is placed on these features, even though they are obviously quite natural assimilations, which in most cases are almost impossible to avoid by speakers—especially modern Arabic speakers, for whom many are part of their native speech. The conviction that there must be something special about these assimilations has led to a number of rather exotic over-articulations. There is nothing specifically *Qurʾānic* about this feature of *tağwīd*, and these categories derive directly from Sībawayh’s descriptions of the phonology of Arabic (Sībawayh 1988, IV:452–54).

Before all other consonants, the *n* undergoes place of articulation assimilation. This is normally called 'ihfā', but before a *bā'* it is called 'iqḷāb 'conversion', because the *nūn* turns into a sound that is typically represented with another letter of the Arabic alphabet (*mīm*). The result of this 'ihfā' should probably involve full buccal closure before stops,²⁴ but in front of fricatives the exact realisation is more exotic. *Tağwīd* experts recommend that you place the tongue on the position of the following fricative consonant with release of the airflow through the nasal cavity. A reasonable transcription into the IPA for 'insān would therefore be [ʔiḏsa:n]. However, this transcription may be misleading. The opening of the nasal cavity drops the buccal pressure so much that no friction can be produced at all, thus a transcription like [ž] which suggests a 'nasalised fricative' does not actually represent a fricative at all, but it is the closest approximation of the articulation that is prescribed. Due to the complex differences (and considerable controversies) regarding the precise articulation of 'ihfā', the transcription system of this book uses the sign <N> to indicate the presence of 'ihfā' (when marking it explicitly is necessary), regardless of its precise articulation.²⁵

A somewhat confounding feature of 'ihfā' is that Sībawayh claims that there is 'ihfā' before the dental stops *t*, *d* and *ṭ*, and this is not simply described as the *n* remaining the same. Today this leads many reciters to articulate the *n* in front of *t*, *d* and *ṭ* (and if they articulate *ḍ* as [dʕ] also before that one) as a long voiced nasalised dental 'fricative', i.e., 'inda [ʕiḏːda]. This is probably not what Sībawayh intended. Sībawayh considers the *nūn* to have a different place of articulation to *t*, *d* and *ṭ*. The *nūn* is said to be pronounced at 'the tip of the tongue and a little bit above the incisors' (*ṭaraf al-lisān ... wa-fuwayq al-ṭanāyā*), whereas *t*, *d* and *ṭ* are said to be pronounced at 'the tip of the tongue and the base of the incisors' (*ṭaraf al-lisān wa-ʿuṣūl al-ṭanāyā*) (Sībawayh 1988, IV:433). Thus, presumably *n* was alveolar [n], whereas *t*, *d* and *ṭ* were true dentals [t̪ d̪ ʈ̪], so Sībawayh's description of 'ihfā' before

²⁴ This strikes me as the most natural reading of the medieval descriptions, but in modern *tağwīd* there is significant disagreement on how this should be realised, and many reciters have instead a nasalised approximant without closure before stops.

²⁵ In modern recitation the 'ihfā' tends to be pronounced extremely long. As a result, this nasal often forms an important base for carrying the melody in recitation. In medieval *tağwīd* manuals there is nothing to suggest that this long articulation was intended.

these consonants was probably intended as place of articulation assimilation *‘inda* as [ʕiṇḏa]. Some modern reciters, especially in Syria, still adhere to this interpretation.

Table 9: Examples of partial assimilation of *n*

before consonant	broad transcription	close transcription	IPA
<i>m, b</i>	<i>ʿanbiyāʿa</i>	<i>ʿambiyāʿa</i>	[ʔambija::ʔa]
<i>f</i>	<i>ʿanfusuhum</i>	<i>ʿanfusuhum</i>	[ʔaʔfusuhum]
<i>t, d, ḏ</i>	<i>unḏur</i>	<i>unḏur</i>	[ʔuḏḏʕurʕ]
<i>s, z, ṣ</i>	<i>al-ʿinsānu</i>	<i>al-ʿinsānu</i>	[ʔalʔiṣsa:nu]
<i>t, d, ṭ</i>	<i>ʿinda</i>	<i>ʿinda</i>	[ʕiṇḏa]
<i>ḏ</i>	<i>manḏūdin</i>	<i>manḏūdin</i>	[maṣṣḏʕu:diṇ]
<i>ğ</i>	<i>man ḡāʿa</i>	<i>manḡāʿa</i>	[maṇja::ʔa]
<i>š</i>	<i>man šāʿa</i>	<i>manṣāʿa</i>	[maṣʒa::ʔa]
<i>k</i>	<i>man kāna</i>	<i>manḵkāna</i>	[maṇkʰa:na]
<i>q</i>	<i>min qablu</i>	<i>minḵqablu</i>	[miṇqablu]

I.5.5. Pause (*waqf*), Connected Speech (*waṣl*) and Starting (*ʿibtidāʿ*)

Arabic words undergo a number of changes when one pauses on a word compared to how it is pronounced in connected speech. Several words also undergo changes when pronounced utterance-initially. In Arabic terminology pause is called *waqf*, connected speech is *waṣl*, and starting after a pause is called *ibtidāʿ*. While there are works on *waqf* that lay out in which positions it is more or less proper to pause, *qirāʾāt* works, including the *Taysīr*, in principle provide instructions for the eventuality that you would pause on any word, even for words where doing so seems exceedingly unnatural, for example, the first part of a construct phrase like *raḥmatu ʕlāhi*, which may be paused upon as *raḥmah#* (or for some *raḥmat#* in case it is written with *tāʾ*).

The *Taysīr* assumes that the standard *waqf* rules of Classical Arabic are known to its audience. These rules are as follows:

1. The feminine ending *-at-*, regardless of following vowel or nunation, shifts to *-ah#*.²⁶
2. *-an* becomes *-ā#* in pause.
3. All other final short vowels and nunation are dropped completely.
4. The third person pronouns *-hū*, *-hī* and the pronoun *hādīhī* drop the final long vowel and end in *-h#*.
5. The long pronouns *humū*, *'antumū*, *-kumū* and *-humū/-himū* drop the *-ū* in pause.
6. The first-person pronoun *'ana* is irregularly paused upon as *'anā#*.

The treatment of nouns with *'imālah* or *bayna lafḍayn* deserves special attention. Words like *hudan* 'guidance' becomes *hudē#* or *hudā#* in pause for the readers that have this extra vowel quality. For readers that do not have this distinction, the pausal form is *hudā#*, no different from the outcome generated by rule 2 above.

Final weak nouns whose stem ends in *-ī*, such as Q13:7 هَادٍ *hādīn* 'a guide' /hādī-n/, for most readers are treated exactly as words ending with *-in* of other kinds and the underlying *-ī* is dropped completely in pause: *hād#* (as is also suggested by the rhyme and the Qur'ānic orthography). Ibn Kaṭīr, however, retains the vowel length in such cases, i.e., *hādī#* (see F.13:7.).

Besides these, there are more specific rules discussed in specialised sections, such as the pausing on words containing *hamzah* by Hišām and Ḥamzah (I.6.2.5.), the raising of the pausal feminine form to *-eh#* by al-Kisā'i (I.6.3.5.), the option to use reduced vowels *-u#* and *-i#* for words that end in *-u* or *-i* in connected speech (*rawm*) or labialisation of the final consonant *-w#* for words that end in *-u* in connected speech (*'iṣmām*) (I.5.3.1.). There is also a significant difference between the readers about how to pronounce certain words in pause when the *rasm* is not perceived by some to represent the pausal pronunciation (U.18.). Finally, the precise behaviour of word-final *-ī*, which is sometimes lost completely in pause, is discussed separately (I.6.8.).

Starting after pause (*ibtidā'*) is less complex. Only when a word starts with *'alif al-waṣl* does it require any special treatment. Words that start with *'alif al-waṣl* have their unique *waṣl* vowel appear only on *ibtidā'*, e.g., *ḍālika l-kitābu*, #*'al-kitābu*; *qāla rabbi ḥkum*, #*'uḥkum*;

²⁶ N.B. not *-a*, as is common in Modern Standard Arabic today.

wa-qul rabbi ġfir, #*ʾiġfir*. The *ibtidāʾ* vowel is *a* for the definite article. If the stem vowel after the consonant cluster is *u*, the *ibtidāʾ* vowel is *u*. In all other contexts the *ibtidāʾ* vowel is *i*.

I.6. Schematic Summary of the General Principles (ʾuṣūl)

The ʾuṣūl ‘general principles’ section of *qirāʾāt* works typically discusses the phonetic or morphological rules that apply regularly. The discussion of these in the *Taysīr* is highly technical, and al-Dānī sometimes does not generalise the rules, in order to account for exceptions which often makes these discussions difficult to read. This section summarises the main aspects of ʾuṣūl as succinctly as possible, using tables and insights from modern linguistic theory and Arabic historical linguistics.

The schematic division between ʾuṣūl ‘general principles’ and *farṣ al-ḥurūf* ‘specific variants’ is somewhat artificial, and the result of the organisation of books in this genre. As a general rule, *qirāʾāt* manuals work through the Qurʾān from beginning to end. Topics worth discussing are examined at their earliest attestation. Because the most important general principles show up almost immediately at the beginning of the Qurʾān, the most generalisable rules concentrate at the start. This also explains why the *Taysīr* discusses some of the specific variants of Sūrat al-Fātiḥah before the ʾuṣūl section (which coincides with the start of the main part of Sūrat al-Baqarah).

But some rules only have their first attestation somewhat further into the Qurʾān. An example of this is the rule to syncopate the *u* and *i* vowel of *huwa* and *hiya* when *wa-*, *fa-* or *la-* precede them (*wa-hwa*, *fa-hya* etc.). This rule is discussed in the specific variants section, but qualitatively there is no real difference between this principle and the ʾuṣūl that are labelled as such. I have decided to discuss such ʾuṣūl-like specific variants in this section.

I.6.1. Major Assimilation²⁷

ʾAbū ʿAmr is unique among the canonical readers for having the option to apply assimilation of two consonants across word boundaries with a short vowel in between. This is called major

²⁷ The presentation of major assimilation presented here is strongly influenced by analysis and insights provided by Hamza Khwaja in personal correspondence.

assimilation (*al-ʔidgām al-kabīr*), traditionally divided into two types: *ʔidgām al-miṭlayn* 'assimilation of two similars' and *ʔidgām al-mutaqāribayn* 'assimilation of two close to one another'. These are very similar processes but have slightly different conditioning.

Major assimilation is only recited in the transmission of al-Sūsī today, and not in the transmission of al-Dūrī. This division of the practice between the two transmitters seems to have already become common in al-Dānī's time.²⁸ But al-Dānī presents it as a general rule for 'Abū 'Amr and includes *ʔisnāds* for the *ʔuṣūl al-ʔidgām* 'principles of (major) assimilation' for both transmitters. Major assimilation depends on the treatment of *hamzah*. 'Abū 'Amr has the option to maintain or drop pre-consonantal *hamzah*, but only uses assimilation when he drops *hamzah* (see U.11.5.).

1.6.1.1. *ʔIdgām al-miṭlayn*

Whenever two identical consonants occur with an intervening short vowel across a word boundary, this short vowel is dropped. This may happen even if this results in a cluster of a short consonant followed by the resulting geminate, e.g., Q2:185 *šahrū ramaḍāna* > *šahrṛamaḍāna* 'the month of Ramadan'. This does not happen when the last consonant of the first word is a geminate, however. Therefore, Q54:48 *massa saqara* does not undergo this process.

Since two identical consonants become a single geminate consonant, the term 'assimilation' with which *ʔidgām* is usually translated, as it is here, is not entirely apt: assimilation is typically used for dissimilar consonants. In linguistic terminology 'syncope' would probably be more appropriate. However, considering its close similarities to *ʔidgām al-mutaqāribayn*, I have used the single term 'assimilation' for both. This aligns with how the *qirā'āt* works conceive of it.

The vowel of the third person masculine pronominal suffix *-hū/-hī/-hu/-hi* is treated as short for the purposes of major assimilation, even when in unassimilated forms these would be long, e.g., *ʔinnahū huwa* → *ʔinnahṛhuwa*.²⁹

²⁸ In his specialised manual for 'Abū 'Amr's reading, al-Dānī only explicitly discusses the option in the section that describes al-Sūsī (al-Dānī 2008b, 163).

²⁹ This treatment as 'short' is something that *-hū* and *-hī* also undergo in pause (see I.5.5.), where they are both shortened to *-h#* in pause as if they ended in a short vowel.

Some morphological factors also block assimilation. For example, the pronominal suffixes *-tu*, *-ta* and *-ti* (both as suffixes of the perfect and as part of the independent pronouns *ʾanta* and *ʾanti*) do not assimilate with the following word. It seems likely that this is done to avoid losing the grammatical information of the subject if these words would assimilate.

Final weak verbs that are apocopated (i.e., are in the jussive or imperative) are treated as if they end in a long vowel, and thus do not undergo assimilation either. For example, Q12:9 *yaḥlu lakum* does not assimilate. Several other exceptions are presented in the translation in more detail.

I.6.1.2. ʾIdgām al-mutaqāribayn

Assimilation across vowels is more limited when the two consonants are not identical. As with the *ʾidgām al-miṭṭayn*, when the preceding stem ends in a geminate, assimilation never occurs. When the intervening vowel is *u* or *i*, the rules otherwise do not change. However, when the intervening vowel is *a*, the syllable weight of the preceding syllable becomes relevant. The assimilation only happens if the preceding syllable is a light (cv) syllable, and not when it is heavy (cvc or cṽ). The table below illustrates this conditioning.

Table 10: Conditioning of ʾidgām al-mutaqāribayn

vowel	type of preceding syllable		
	cv	cvc	cṽ
<i>a</i>	<i>al-qalāʾida ḏālika</i> → <i>al-qalāʾidḏālika</i>	<i>baʿda ḏulmiḥi</i>	<i>al-fuḡḡāra la-fi</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>fī l-masāḡidi tilka</i> → <i>fī l-masāḡitṭilka</i>	<i>min baʿdi ḏulmiḥi</i> → <i>min baʿḏḏulmiḥi</i>	<i>al-fuḡḡēri la-fi</i> → <i>al-fuḡḡēlṭafi</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>naḡqīdu ṣuwāʾa</i> → <i>naḡqīṣṣuwāʾa</i>	<i>kaydu sāḥirin</i> → <i>kaysṣāḥirin</i>	<i>takādu tamayyazu</i> → <i>takātṭamayyazu</i>

When the preceding heavy syllable contains *ā*, there are occasional exceptions to this rule, e.g., Q11:114 *aṣ-ṣalāta ṭarafayi n-nahēri* → *aṣ-ṣalātṭarafayi n-nahēri*. See the translation for details (U.8.2.).

The morphological constraint against the assimilation of the person markers *-tu/-ta/-ti* found with *ʿidgām al-miṭlayn* also occurs with *ʿidgām al-mutaqāribayn*. One would logically expect that final weak verbs in their apocopate forms would also be blocked from assimilating in this case, but this rule is not formulated as such by al-Dānī, and indeed in modern recitation these are simply assimilated: Q17:26 *wa-ta'ti dā l-qurbā* → *wa-tāḏdā l-qurbā*; Q4:102 *wa-l-ta'ti tār'ifatun* → *wa-l-tātṭār'ifatun*.

Table 11: Possible instances in major assimilation

	ʿ	q	k	ğ	t	d	ṭ	š	s	z	ṣ	ṭ	ḏ	ḏ	ḏ	r	l	b	m
ḥ	±	–			–					–	–						–	–	–
q	–	+	+	–	–			–	–		–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–
k	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ğ	–		–		+			+			–				–	–	–	–	–
ḏ	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	±		–		–	–	–		–	–	–	–
š	–	–							+							–	–	–	–
s	–	–	–		–		–	+	+	+		–		–	–	–	–	–	–
t	–	–	–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
d	–	–	–	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
ṭ	–		–		+			+	+			+	+		+	–	–	–	–
ḏ	–	–	–						+		+					–	–	–	–
r	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–		–	–	–		–	+	+	–	–
l	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	–
n	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
m	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	~	+
b	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–		–	–		–	–	–	+	±

The table above gives an overview of which consonants may assimilate with which other consonants. In the table, + indicates that the assimilation is attested, – means that the lack of assimilation is attested, ± indicates irregular behaviour where both assimilation and non-assimilation are attested. An empty cell indicates that the combination is unattested. I have shaded the groups of consonants that undergo assimilation, including ones that are unattested but form a natural class with consonants that are involved in assimilation. Note that the outcome of *mv* + *b* is *m̃b* (marked with ~ in the table). The first vertical column represents the final consonant of the first word and the first horizontal row the first consonant of the second word.

I.6.2. *Hamzah*

The *hamzah* is a point of significant disagreement among the canonical readers. The sections below summarise the points of contention.

I.6.2.1. *ʾAlif al-istifhām* before a *hamzah*

Table 12: Outcome of *ʾalif al-istifhām* before *hamzah*

	ʾa-ʾa	ʾa-ʾi	ʾa-ʾu
ʾAbū ʾAmr	ʾā.a	ʾā.i	ʾa.u
Qālūn	ʾā.a	ʾā.i	ʾā.u
Warš	ʾā (or ʾa.a)	ʾa.i	ʾa.u
Ibn Kaṭīr	ʾa.a	ʾa.i	ʾa.u
Hišām (via ʾAbū al-Faṭḥ)	ʾā.a	ʾāʾi	ʾāʾu
Hišām (via Ibn Ġalbūn)	ʾā.a	ʾaʾi, ʾāʾi (6x), ʾā.i (1x)	ʾā.u (2x), ʾaʾu (1x)
Ibn Ḍakwān and the Kufans	ʾaʾa	ʾaʾi	ʾaʾu

When the question particle *ʾa-* occurs before a word that starts with *hamzah*, the readers vary in their treatments (U.11.1.). Some readers soften the second *hamzah*, as prescribed by Sībawayh (1988, III:552), while others pronounce both *hamzahs*, as is associated with the Kufan school (al-Sirāfi 2008, II:286). Some lengthen the question particle from *ʾa-* to *ʾā* when

it stands in front of another *hamzah*. The technical term associated with this lengthening is *ʾidhāl* 'insertion (of the *ʾalif*)'. The table above summarises the outcome of the readers.

When the question particle stands before an *ʾalif al-waṣl*, the result is always *ʾā*, although the discussion at F.10:51 may suggest that *ʾa.a* is also an option.

I.6.2.2. Two *hamzahs* across Word Boundaries

Nāfiʿ, Ibn Kaṭīr and ʾAbū ʿAmr have special softening rules when two *hamzahs* meet across word boundaries (U.11.2.). Surprisingly, the transmitters al-Bazzī (← Ibn Kaṭīr) and Qālūn (← Nāfiʿ) on the one hand and Qunbul (← Ibn Kaṭīr) and Warš (← Nāfiʿ) on the other, group together in their treatment, although one would rather expect the transmitters of the same reader to have the same treatment.

Table 13: Outcome of two *hamzahs* across word boundaries

	ʾa + ʾa	ʾi + ʾi	ʾu + ʾu	ʾi + ʾa	ʾu + ʾa	ʾu + ʾi	ʾa + ʾu	ʾa + ʾi
Qunbul and Warš	ʾa.a	ʾi.i ³⁰	ʾu.u	ʾi ya	ʾu wa	ʾu w/.i	ʾa .u	ʾa .i
al-Bazzī and Qālūn	ʾa	.i ʾi	.u ʾu	ʾi ya	ʾu wa	ʾu w/.i	ʾa .u	ʾa .i
ʾAbū ʿAmr	ʾa	ʾi	ʾu	ʾi ya	ʾu wa	ʾu w/.i	ʾa .u	ʾa .i
Ibn ʿĀmir and the Kufans	ʾa ʾa	ʾi ʾi	ʾu ʾu	ʾi ʾa	ʾu ʾa	ʾu ʾi	ʾa ʾu	ʾa ʾi

I.6.2.3. Dropping of Word-Internal *hamzah* by Warš and ʾAbū ʿAmr

ʾAbū ʿAmr has the option to drop any vowelless *hamzah* (U.11.5.),³¹ except when such a *hamzah* is stem-final (i.e., imperatives and apocopates), even if a pronominal suffix follows. The morpheme boundary thus acts identical to a word boundary. ʾAbū ʿAmr's reading has several lexical exceptions to this rule: *tuʾwī*, *tuʾwīhi*, *wa-riʾyan* and *muʾṣadah*.

³⁰ An exception is reported for Warš in the path of ʿAlī b. Ḥāqān who is said to have recited ʾi yī.

³¹ In modern recitation dropping the *hamzah* has become customary for the transmission of al-Sūsī, but this is not how al-Dānī describes it. He instead associates it with specific manners of recitation. He says that if ʾAbū ʿAmr recited in prayer, or at a fast pace or with major assimilation (see U.11.5.), he drops the *hamzah*.

Warš drops both pre-consonantal and intervocalic *hamzahs*, but only if the *hamzah* is the first root consonant (U.11.3.). When it is the second or third root consonant, he typically retains it. In the case of intervocalic *hamzah*, he only drops it when the vowel preceding the *hamzah* is *u*. Thus *ya'ūduhū*, *ta'uzzuhum*, *ma'āban*, *ma'ābin*, *ma'āribu*, *ta'aḥḥara* and *fa-'aḏḏana*, etc. retain the *hamzah*.

Warš's reading has several lexical exceptions to it. All derivations of the stem root 'wy retain *hamzah*, i.e., *tu'wī*, *tu'wīhi*, *al-ma'wā*, *ma'wāhum*, *ma'wākum*, *fa-'wū*, etc.

Warš also has several lexical exceptions where he drops the *hamzah* in environments not covered here: *bīsa* (← *bi'sa*), *bīsa-mā* (← *bi'sa-mā*), *al-bīr* (← *al-bī'r*), *aḏ-ḏīb* (← *aḏ-ḏī'b*) and *liyallā* (← *li-'allā*).

Table 14: Loss of *hamzah* among the readers

	a'c	i'c	u'c	u'a	ṣ'(c) apocopate
Warš	yākulu (I-') <i>ra'sī fa-ddara'tum</i>	bīsa <i>ḡi'ta</i>	mūminun (I-') <i>su'la-ka</i>	yuwaḥḥīru (I-') <i>fu' ādu</i>	<i>yaša' tasu'-kum</i> <i>hayyi'</i>
'Abū 'Amr	yākulu rāsī fa-ddārātum	bīsa ḡīta	mūminun sūla-ka	<i>yu'aḥḥīru</i> <i>fu' ādu</i>	<i>yaša' tasu'-kum</i> <i>hayyi'</i>

I.6.2.4. Naql

Warš drops *hamzah* across word boundaries whenever a vowelless consonant precedes it (e.g., *man 'aslama* → *maṣaslama*, U.11.4.). For the purposes of this rule, the transition from the definite article to the word that starts with a *hamzah* is considered a word boundary, even though the definite article is written prefixed to the next word (*al-'arḏ* → *aṣarḏ*). This rule does not apply within a word, i.e., *yas'alu* remains *yas'alu*. While this is not mentioned explicitly in the *Taysīr*, long vowels that precede the definite article are shortened despite no longer standing in a closed syllable (e.g., Q38:12 *ḏū l-'awtādi* → *ḏū l-'awtādi* → *ḏū ṣawtādi*). So, the shortening rule synchronically precedes the dropping of *hamzah*.

I.6.2.5. Hamzah in Pause

Both Ḥamzah and Hišām ← Ibn 'Āmir have a special treatment of the *hamzah* in pause (U.11.6.). Ḥamzah drops any *hamzah*, wherever it occurs in the word paused upon. Hišām only drops the *hamzah* that would become word-final after applying the regular pausal rules.

Table 15: The pausal dropping of *hamzah*

	word-initial (Ḥamzah)	word-medial (Ḥamzah)	word-final (both)
ǃǃ	<i>li-ʿannā</i> → <i>liyannā#</i> / <i>liʿannā#</i>	<i>saʿala</i> → <i>sa.al#</i>	
ǃ	<i>fa-ʿti</i> → <i>fāt#</i> / <i>faʿt#</i>	<i>luʿluʿan</i> → <i>lūluwā#</i>	<i>nabbiʿ</i> → <i>nabbi#</i>
cʿ	<i>al-ʿiṭmi</i> → <i>al iṭm#</i> / <i>alʿiṭm#</i>	<i>yasʿalu</i> → <i>yasal#</i>	<i>difʿun</i> → <i>dif#</i>
āʿ	<i>yā ʿiblisu</i> → <i>yâ .iblis#</i> / <i>yâ ʿiblis#</i>	<i>ʿaḏāʿat</i> → <i>ʿaḏâ.at#</i>	<i>ğāʿa</i> → <i>ğâ#</i>
īʿ (root)		<i>sīʿat</i> → <i>siyat#</i>	<i>al-musīʿu</i> → <i>al-musī#</i>
īʿ (pattern)		<i>hanīʿan</i> → <i>haniyyā#</i>	<i>barīʿun</i> → <i>bariyy#</i>
ūʿ (root)		<i>sūʿan</i> → <i>suwā#</i>	<i>sūʿin</i> → <i>sū#</i>
ūʿ (pattern)			<i>qurūʿin</i> → <i>quruww#</i>

When the dropped *hamzah* is intervocalic, it is replaced with a homorganic glide of the preceding vowel, *w* after *u*, *y* after *i* and a hiatus after *a*. When the dropped *hamzah* is directly followed by another consonant, the preceding vowel becomes long. When the preceding vowel is *ī* or *ū*, and it is the outcome of a vowel + a root consonant *w* or *y*, the *hamzah* is dropped without a trace. When *ī* or *ū* are part of the stem pattern (e.g., *cacīʿ*, *cacūʿ*), the outcome is *iyy* and *uww* respectively. When the *hamzah* is directly preceded by a consonant, the *hamzah* is dropped without a trace. There is no distinction between root *ā* and stem *ā*, and both may be optionally pronounced overlong in their pausal form. Dropping the *hamzah* is an option if it concerns a word-initial *hamzah* directly preceded by a prefix.

1.6.3. ʿImālah

1.6.3.1. Final ʿimālah of Ḥamzah, al-Kisāʿī and Warš

Both Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʿī maintain a phonemic distinction between *ā* and *ē* in word-final position (U.13.).³² This is a historical distinction that cannot be derived from the surface

³² Historically this contrast must be explained as the result of different outcomes of the proto-Arabic triphthongs **ayw* and **aww*, where the former yielded *ē* and the latter yielded *ā* (van Putten 2017; 2021a).

if one takes *ā* as the original. These readers read *ā* whenever it corresponds to historical **ā*, for example in the pronominal suffix *-hā*, the verbal dual ending *da‘awā*, *ǧa‘alā*, etc. The *ā* also occurs in roots that have the *w* as the third root consonant, thus *da‘ā* ‘called’ (√d‘w), *‘alā* ‘went up’ (√‘lw), *‘aṣāhu* ‘his rod’ (√‘ṣw), or *sanā barqihī* (√snw) ‘a flash of its lightning’. On the other hand, *ē* occurs in verbs and nouns whose third root consonant is *y*, thus *hadē* ‘leads’ (√hdy), *al-hudē* ‘guidance (√hdy), or *ramē* ‘threw’ (√rmy).³³ As III-w/III-y verbs become III-y in derived verbal stems, these readers always have *ē* in derived verbal stems, regardless of the original root consonant, i.e., *naǧǧēnā* ‘he saved us’ (√nǧw). The *ē* also occurs in feminine nouns that end in the so-called ‘*alif al-ta’nīt*’ feminine ending, such as *ǧikrē* ‘a reminder’, *al-mawtē* ‘the dead’, or *buṣrē* ‘good news’. Warš follows Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī in this phonemic distinction, but the vowel contrast is rather one of *ā̄* versus *ā*. Not many minimal pairs exist that demonstrate this contrast, but one may compare the pausal indefinite accusative *ǧikran* → *ǧikrā#* versus the feminine noun *ǧikrē* → *ǧikrē#*.

Table 16: III-y stems among the readers

	III-y		III-w	
	verb	noun	verb	noun
Ḥamzah, al-Kisā’ī	<i>hadē</i>	<i>al-hudē</i>	<i>da‘ā</i>	<i>‘aṣā-ka</i>
Warš	<i>hadā̄</i>	<i>al-hudā̄</i>	<i>da‘ā</i>	<i>‘aṣā-ka</i>

The distinction maps closely to the spelling of the ‘*alif maqṣūrah*’. The ‘*alif maqṣūrah*’ written with ‘*alif*’ corresponds to *ā* and the ‘*alif maqṣūrah*’ written with *yā*’ corresponds to *ē/ā̄*. However, this correspondence is not perfect. For example, *ḥattā* ‘until’ is pronounced without ‘*imālah*’, despite being spelled *حتى* and *ad-dunyē* ‘the world’ is pronounced with ‘*imālah*’ despite being spelled *الدنيا*. Departing from the assumption that any noun ending in ‘*alif maqṣūrah*’

³³ This is a point of contention between the Basran grammarian Sībawayh and the Kufan al-Farrā’ and others. Sībawayh maintained that III-w verbs should also have ‘*imālah*’. He appears to be quite alone in this view. Al-Farrā’ and others, however, maintain a phonemic distinction between *ē* (III-y) and *ā* (III-w) for verbs. I am not aware of any reciter, canonical or otherwise, that maintains the distinction as described by Sībawayh. For a further discussion on the treatment of such cases among the grammarians and Qur’ānic readers, see Van Putten (2022a, 25ff.).

written with *yā'* should be pronounced with *ē*, both reciters have some lexical exceptions. None of the readers have *'imālah* for the prepositions *hattā*, *ladā*, *'alā*, or *'ilā*, nor do they have *'imālah* for Q24:21 *zakā* 'is pure' (spelled *زَكَا*, but understood as *√zkw*).

Warš does not have *ā* when we would expect it in verses that end in *'alif maqṣūrah* + the pronominal suffix *-hā* (i.e., Q79:27–32, 42–46; Q91), unless the consonant that precedes *'alif maqṣūrah* is *r* (e.g., *dikrā-hā*, Q79:43).

Ḥamzah does not apply *'imālah* in a small subset of words where al-Kisā'i does apply it. This is primarily (but not regularly) when a word ends in *y* + *'alif maqṣūrah*, or is followed by a 1sg. object clitic *-nī* or *-ni*, or the possessive 1sg. clitic *-ya*.³⁴ Some verbs and nouns perceived to be III-w verbs lack *'imālah* in Ḥamzah's reading, despite being spelled with *yā'*.

1.6.3.2. Final *'imālah* of 'Abū 'Amr and Other Readers

'Abū 'Amr also used final *'imālah*, but his distribution is much more restricted than that of Ḥamzah, al-Kisā'i and Warš. 'Abū 'Amr has *ā* for all feminine nouns with the stem shape *cṛccā* (i.e., *al-mawtā*, *al-qurbā*, *'ihdā*). Any *'alif maqṣūrah* spelled with *yā'* (of verbs, nouns or the *'alif al-ta'nīt*) preceded by *r* has full *'imālah* (e.g., *'asrē*, *narē*, *al-qurē*). Besides this, he maintains a phonemic distinction for verbs and nouns with stem-final *'alif maqṣūrah* with the vowel *-ā* only when they stand in verse final rhyme position, thus the *-ā* and *-ā-hā* rhymes of Q20, Q53, Q70, Q75, Q79, Q80, Q87, Q91, Q92, Q93 and Q96 are maintained in 'Abū 'Amr's reading.

Besides 'Abū 'Amr's system, a variety of readers have lexical exceptions for *'imālah*. For example, Šu'bah applies *'imālah* only to *ramē* (Q8:17), *re'ē* (*passim*), *na'ē* (only once in Q17:83, not in Q41:51) and *'a'mē* (both times in Q17:72). Ḥafṣ applies *'imālah* only once in *mağrē-hā* (Q11:41).

³⁴ Van Putten (2021a) argues that this is the result of the dissimilation of *ē* to *ā* in the vicinity of *i* or *y*, which is also reflected in the *rasm* of early manuscripts, although largely erased in the modern print editions.

I.6.3.3. Hollow Root *ʾimālah*

Ḥamzah has *ʾimālah* in the perfect of hollow verbs, if the short vowel in the suffixed forms of such verbs is *i*, regardless of the medial root consonant (e.g., *ḥēfa*, *ḥiftu* despite *ḥawf* showing the root consonant is *w*). He has two lexical exceptions to this rule: he does not apply it to the verb *māta* ‘he died’,³⁵ nor to the feminine form *zāġat* (but does apply it to *zēġa* and *zēġū*). Al-Kisāʾī, Šuʿbah and Ibn ʿAkwān have several lexically exceptional uses of hollow root *ʾimālah*. The table below gives an overview; not all verbs are attested in the Qurʾān with the short stem showing the *i* (U.13.3.).

Table 17: Hollow root *ʾimālah*

root	suffixed form	Ḥamzah	Ibn ʿAkwān	al-Kisāʾī and Šuʿbah
√ġyʾ	ġiʾta (Q2:71)	ġēʾa	ġēʾa	ġāʾa
√šyʾ	šiʾta (Q7:155)	šēʾa	šēʾa	šāʾa
√ryn	[rintu]	rēna	rāna	rēna
√zyd	zidnāhum (Q16:88)	zēda	fa-zēda-hum (Q2:10) only ³⁶	zāda
√ḥwf	ḥiftu (Q19:5)	ḥēfa	ḥāfa	ḥāfa
√tyb	ṭibna (Q4:4)	ṭēba	ṭāba	ṭāba
√hyb	[hibtu]	ḥēba	ḥāba	ḥāba
√hyq	[hiqtu]	ḥēqa	ḥāqa	ḥāqa
√dyq	[diqtu]	ḍēqa	ḍāqa	ḍāqa
√zyġ	[ziġtu]	zēġa, zēġū but zāġat	zāġa	zāġa
√mwt	mittu (Q19:23)	māta	māta	māta

³⁵ Alternatively, *ḥēfa* could be understood as an exception to the rule, and then the distribution would be accurately described as being based on the root consonant *y*. Understood this way, *māta* would not be an exception. Sībawayh maintains that forms of such *ʾimālah* are based on the short-stem vowel (Sībawayh 1988, IV:120–21) .

³⁶ Another transmission has *zēda* for all occurrences of this verb.

I.6.3.4. Word-Final *-āri* 'imālah

'Abū 'Amr and al-Dūrī ← al-Kisā'i shift stem-final *-ār* of nouns to *-ēr* when it is followed by the genitive *-i(n)*. Warš has the same conditioning but shifts to *-ār̄* instead. 'Abū al-Ḥārīt ← al-Kisā'i only has *ē* if the second and third root consonant are both *r*, and Ḥamzah has *bayn al-lafḍayn* in that context. Note that this does not affect all word-final *-āri(n)* sequences. If the final *i* is not a genitive vowel, but rather a shortened *-ī*, no 'imālah takes place (U.13.4.).

Table 18: Word-final *-āri* 'imālah

Root	'Abū 'Amr and al-Dūrī ← al-Kisā'i	Warš ← Nāfi'	'Abū al-Ḥārīt	Ḥamzah
√nhr (e.g., Q2:164)	<i>an-nahēri</i>	<i>an-nahārī</i>	<i>an-nahāri</i>	<i>an-nahāri</i>
√qrr (Q77:21)	<i>qarērin</i>	<i>qarārīn</i>	<i>qarērin</i>	<i>qarārīn</i>
√ğry (e.g., Q42:32)	<i>al-ğawāri</i> (AA), <i>al-ğawāri</i> (K-d)	<i>al-ğawāri</i> ³⁷	<i>al-ğawāri</i>	<i>al-ğawāri</i>

I.6.3.5. Pausal Raising of the Feminine Ending by al-Kisā'i

Table 19: Pausal raising of the feminine ending

	preceded by <i>a, u, ā, ū, aw</i>	preceded by <i>i, ī</i> or <i>ay</i>
non-emphatic	<i>ğanneh</i>	<i>ni'meh</i>
emphatic	<i>qabḍah</i>	<i>ḥāfiḍah</i>
guttural	<i>al-balāğah</i>	<i>an-naṭīḥah</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>ğamrah</i>	<i>'āḥireh</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>at-tahlukah</i>	<i>al-malā'ikeh</i>
<i>ʾ</i>	<i>imra'ah</i>	<i>ḥāṭi'eh</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>safāhah</i>	<i>wiğheh</i>

³⁷ Note that Nāfi' does not have a shortened vowel here, despite the *rasm* الجوار.

Al-Kisāʾi raises the vowel of the pausal feminine ending to *-eh*, unless it is preceded by an emphatic (*ṭ, ḍ, ṣ, ḍ*) or guttural (*ḥ, ʕ, q, ʕ, ḥ*). The glottal consonants ʾ and *h* as well as the *r* and *k* block this raising if the syllable before does not have the vowel *i* or *ī* (U.14.).³⁸

I.6.4. ʾIšmām in Hollow Passive Verbs

The ʾišmām of hollow passive verbs is a feature that is typically discussed in the section on the specific variants, and this is true in the *Taysir* as well (see F.2:11). However, considering its regularity in application, it is not much different from hollow root ʾimālah and can therefore certainly be considered as part of the ʾuṣūl. Both al-Kisāʾi and Hišām regularly have *ū* with all hollow passive verbs. Ibn Ḍakwān and Nāfiʿ apply *ū* sporadically.

Table 20: ʾIšmām in hollow passive verbs

al-Kisāʾi and Hišām	Ibn Ḍakwān	Nāfiʿ	rest
<i>qūla</i>	<i>qīla</i>	<i>qīla</i>	<i>qīla</i>
<i>ḡūḍa</i>	<i>ḡīḍa</i>	<i>ḡīḍa</i>	<i>ḡīḍa</i>
<i>ḡūʾa</i>	<i>ḡīʾa</i>	<i>ḡīʾa</i>	<i>ḡīʾa</i>
<i>ḥūla</i>	<i>ḥīla</i>	<i>ḥīla</i>	<i>ḥīla</i>
<i>sūqa</i>	<i>sīqa</i>	<i>sīqa</i>	<i>sīqa</i>
<i>sūʾa</i>	<i>sīʾa</i>	<i>sīʾa</i>	<i>sīʾa</i>

³⁸ The similarities of these rules compared to the raising of the vowel of the feminine ending that we see in a number of modern dialects such as Damascene and Christian Baghdadi Arabic are clear (Cowell 1964, 138; Blanc 1964, 68–73; van Putten 2023, 79–81). To my knowledge, however, in no modern dialects do *k* or *h* behave similarly to *r* in blocking the raising in some cases.

I.6.5. Epenthetic Vowels

Whenever a word-final consonant is followed by a word that starts with *'alif al-waṣl*, different readers apply different epenthetic vowels. The quality of the vowel depends on the preceding lexical item, and whether the following verb would have an *u* as the initial vowel when starting on the word due to a stem vowel *u* (F.2:173).

Table 21: Epenthetic vowels in consonant clusters

	Āṣim and Ḥamzah	'Abū 'Amr	Ibn Ḍakwān	rest
3pl.m. -aw vcc	<i>tansawu l-faḍla</i>	<i>tansawu l-faḍla</i>	<i>tansawu l-faḍla</i>	<i>tansawu l-faḍla</i>
'aw vccu	<i>'aw inquṣ</i>	<i>'aw unquṣ</i>	<i>'aw unquṣ</i>	<i>'aw unquṣ</i>
<i>qul</i> vccu	<i>qul id'ū</i>	<i>qul ud'ū</i>	<i>qul ud'ū</i>	<i>qul ud'ū</i>
c vccu	<i>fa-man idṭurra</i>	<i>fa-man idṭurra</i>	<i>fa-man uḍṭurra</i>	<i>fa-man uḍṭurra</i>
<i>tanwīn</i> vccu	<i>ba'dīn inṣur</i>	<i>ba'dīn inṣur</i>	<i>ba'dīn inṣur</i>	<i>ba'dīn unṣur</i>
other	<i>'an idrib</i>	<i>'an idrib</i>	<i>'an idrib</i>	<i>'an idrib</i>

Ibn Ḍakwān, in one transmission path, has two exceptions to his rule for *tanwīn* where the epenthetic vowel is *u*: *bi-rahmatin udḥulū* (Q7:49) and *ḥabīṭatin uḡtuttat* (Q14:26).

I.6.6. Pronominal Morphology

Besides the phonological variations discussed above, another major point of difference between the seven readers is in the morphophonology of the pronouns.

I.6.6.1. 1sg. Independent Pronoun *'ana*

As is standard for Classical Arabic, the first-person independent pronoun is *'ana* with a final short vowel, except when pausing, where we find *'anā#* rather than the expected ***'an#*. Nāfi' also uses the form *'anā* in connected speech whenever a *hamzah* follows (see F.2:258). Since long vowels are pronounced overlong before *hamzah*, the pronoun in such a context is pronounced overlong (e.g. *'anā 'uḥyī*).

I.6.6.2. The 3sg. Independent Pronouns *huwa* and *hiya*

Qālūn, 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i syncopate the high vowels of the independent pronouns *huwa* and *hiya* whenever a *wa-*, *fa-* or *la-* precede them (i.e., *wa-hwa*, *wa-hya*, *fa-hwa*, *la-hwa*, etc.). Qālūn and al-Kisā'i also do so with *tumma hwa* (Q28:61 is the only case of this) (see F.2:29).

I.6.6.3. 3sg.m. Suffix Pronoun *-hū*

All the canonical readers regularly apply vowel harmony to the 3rd person masculine pronominal suffix *-hū*, which harmonises in vowel quality when it follows *i*, *ī* or *ay*. The majority of the readers also have a form of length disharmony with the previous syllable. If the previous syllable is heavy, the pronominal suffix is light *-hu/-hi*, and if the previous syllable is light, the pronominal suffix is heavy *-hū/-hī*. Only Ibn Kaṭīr lacks this length disharmony and regularly has the long forms after heavy syllables, *minhū*, *fihī*, *'alayhī* etc. (U.9.).

There are a couple of lexical exceptions: Ḥaṣṣ reads Q25:69 *fihī* like Ibn Kaṭīr, and Q48:10 *'alayhu llāha* and Q18:63 *'ansānihu* without vowel harmony. Ḥamzah reads Q20:10 and Q28:29 *li-'ahlihu mkuṭū* without vowel harmony.

The specific case of jussive and imperative forms of final weak verbs followed by the third person masculine pronoun, however, present a place of significant variation among the readers. While on the basis of the general length disharmony rule such forms should be long *-hī* and *-hū*, several readers use *-hi* and *-hu*, as if the preceding vowel were long. Others drop the vowel altogether, as if they are applying the *ḡazm* of the verb to the pronoun as well. Several readers have generalisable rules, whereas others (like Ḥaṣṣ) seem to show no clear pattern. The table below gives an overview of the forms across the readers. This topic is often discussed all at once in *qirā'āt* works. Most of the cases are discussed by al-Dānī at Q3:75, but the remaining exceptional cases are discussed at their relevant locations (Q27:28; Q24:52; Q20:75; Q39:7). The specificities of Hišām are relatively complex. The details for his transmission can be found in the translation.

Table 22: 3sg.m. suffix pronouns after III-y ḡazm forms

	Šu'bah	'Abū 'Amr	Ḥamzah	Qālūn	Hišām	Ḥafş	rest
Q3:75	yu'addih	yu'addih	yu'addih	yu'addihi	yu'addihī	yu'addihī	yu'addihī
Q3:75	yu'addih	yu'addih	yu'addih	yu'addihi	yu'addihī	yu'addihī	yu'addihī
Q3:145	nu'tih	nu'tih	nu'tih	nu'tihi	nu'tihī	nu'tihī	nu'tihī
Q3:145	nu'tih	nu'tih	nu'tih	nu'tihi	nu'tihī	nu'tihī	nu'tihī
Q4:115	nuwallih	nuwallih	nuwallih	nuwallihi	nuwallihī	nuwallihī	nuwallihī
Q4:115	nuṣlih	nuṣlih	nuṣlih	nuṣlihi	nuṣlihī	nuṣlihī	nuṣlihī
Q42:20	nu'tih	nu'tih	nu'tih	nu'tihi	nu'tihī	nu'tihī	nu'tihī
Q27:28	fa-'alqih	fa-'alqih	fa-'alqih	fa-'alqihi	fa-'alqihī	fa-'alqih	fa-'alqihī
Q24:52	yattaqih	yattaqih	yattaqih(i)	yattaqihi	yattaqihī	yattaqhi	yattaqihī
Q20:75	ya'tihī	ya'tih(i)	ya'tihī	ya'tihi	ya'tihī	ya'tihī	ya'tihī
Q7:111	'arḡih	'arḡi'hu	'arḡih	'arḡihi	'arḡi'hū Ibn Dak. 'arḡi'hi	'arḡih	'arḡihī
Q26:36	'arḡih	'arḡi'hu	'arḡih	'arḡihi	'arḡi'hū Ibn Dak. 'arḡi'hi	'arḡih	'arḡihī
Q99:8	jarahū	jarahū	jarahū	jarahū	jarah	jarahū	jarahū
Q99:9	jarahū	jarahū	jarahū	jarahū	jarah	jarahū	jarahū
Q39:7	yarḍahu	yarḍah(ū)	yarḍahu	yarḍahu (and Warš)	yarḍah(u)	yarḍahu	yarḍahū

I.6.6.4. Plural Pronouns

Plural pronouns show a lot of variation depending on the reader (see U.7.1.). Factors that play a role are whether a word appears in a harmonising environment, whether it stands before 'alif al-waṣl or whether it precedes a *hamzah*. The table below summarises the allomorphs, using the 3rd person plural clitic as an example. The first form in each cell gives the pronoun

as used after *u*, *a*, *ū* or *ā*, whereas the second form shows the pronoun after *i*, *ī* or *ay*.

The allomorphs of the vowel that comes after the *m* also affects the 2pl.m. clitic *-kum*, the 2pl.m. verbal ending *-tum* and the independent pronouns *hum* and *ʾantum*. Thus, for example, Ibn Kaṭīr has *-kumū*, *-tumū*, *humū*, *ʾantumū*.

Table 23: Shape of the plural pronouns

	basic form	before <i>alif al-waṣl</i>	before <i>hamzah</i>
ʿĀsim, Ibn ʿĀmir, Qālūn	<i>-hum</i> <i>-him</i>	<i>-humu l-</i> <i>-himu l-</i>	<i>-hum ʾ-</i> <i>-him ʾ-</i>
Warš	<i>-hum</i> <i>-him</i>	<i>-humu l-</i> <i>-himu l-</i>	<i>-humū ʾ-</i> <i>-himū ʾ-</i>
Ibn Kaṭīr	<i>-humū</i> <i>-himū</i>	<i>-humu l-</i> <i>-himu l-</i>	<i>-humū ʾ-</i> <i>-himū ʾ-</i>
al-Kisāʾī	<i>-hum</i> <i>-him</i>	<i>-humu l-</i> <i>-humu l-</i>	<i>-hum ʾ-</i> <i>-him ʾ-</i>
Ḥamzah	<i>-hum</i> <i>-him (ʿalay-/ʾilay-/laday-hum)</i>	<i>-humu l-</i> <i>-humu l-</i>	<i>-hum ʾ-</i> <i>-him ʾ-</i>
ʾAbū ʿAmr	<i>-hum</i> <i>-him</i>	<i>-humu l-</i> <i>-himi l-</i>	<i>-hum ʾ-</i> <i>-him ʾ-</i>

I.6.6.5. Pronominal Allomorphy of the 1sg. Suffixes *-ī/-iya* and *-nī/-niya*

Table 24: Allomorphy of the 1sg. suffix

	<i>al-</i>	<i>ʾalif al-waṣl</i>	<i>ʾa</i>	<i>ʾi</i>	<i>ʾu</i>
Nāfiʿ	<i>īya</i>	<i>īya</i>	<i>īya</i>	<i>īya</i>	<i>īya</i>
ʾAbū ʿAmr	<i>īya</i>	<i>īya</i>	<i>īya</i>	<i>īya</i>	<i>ī</i>
Ibn Kaṭīr	<i>īya</i>	<i>īya</i>	<i>īya</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>
rest	<i>īya</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>
Ḥamzah	<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>ī</i>

The first-person singular possessive suffix *-ī* and object suffix *-nī* each have an allomorph that ends in *-iya*. When the *-iya* allomorph is used differs per reader, depending on what sequence follows it. Most readers use the *-iya* form when a definite article follows. Others also have it with other cases of *'alif al-waṣl* and when a *hamzah* follows. There are frequent exceptions for all readers (which are detailed both in U.20., and at the end of the discussion of each *sūrah*). The general pattern is summarised in the table above.

1.6.7. *ta-ta-* Sequences in the Verbal System

In the *rasm* of the Qur'ān, we find that when the tD (*tafa'*ala) and tL (*tafā'*ala) stems have a coronal obstruent as the first root consonant, the *ta-* prefix may assimilate to the following consonant. This appears to have been optional in Qur'ānic Arabic but has become fixed as the consonantal text came to be fixed. These are now positionally determined in, for example, near-doublets such as:

Q6:42 *wa-laqaḍ (?)arsalnā 'ilā 'umamin min qablika fa-'aḥaḍnāhum(ū) bi-l-ba'/āsā'i wa-ḍ-ḍarrā'i la'allahum(ū) yataḍarra'ūn* (يَضْرَعُونَ)

And We have already sent to nations before you, and We seized them with suffering and hardship, so that they would be humble.

Q7:94 *wa-mā 'arsalnā fī qaryatin nabiyyin/nabī'in (?)illā 'aḥaḍnā 'ahlahā bi-l-ba'/āsā'i wa-ḍ-ḍarrā'i la'alalahum(ū) yaḍḍarra'ūn* (يَضْرَعُونَ)

And whenever We sent a prophet to a town, We seized its people with suffering and hardship, so that they would be humble.

Whenever the verb is preceded by the prefix *ya-*, *na-* or *'a-* or if the verb is in the perfective form (e.g. Q27:47 *اِطِيعْنَا ittayyarnā*), it is unambiguously assimilated and all readers agree on reading it as assimilated. However, when the prefix is *ta-* and the root has a coronal as the first root consonant, the *rasm* becomes ambiguous, as the *rasm* also has a rule that the sequence *ta-ta-* may be optionally simplified to *ta-*, exemplified by pairs such as Q42:13 *tata-farraqū* (تَتَفَرَّقُوا) besides Q3:103 *tafarraqū* (تَفَرَّقُوا).

Thus, a verb like Q6:152 *تَذَكَّرُونَ* is genuinely ambiguous and could reasonably be read with assimilation (*taḍḍakkarūna*) or with haplology (*taḍakkarūna*). Different readers find different solutions in these situations, discussed as specific variants throughout F.2.–F.114. Some always read with assimilation, while others always read haplogically. As a rule, the Kufan readers (Āṣim, al-Kisā'i and Ḥamzah) choose the haplogical option whereas the rest

opt for assimilation. However, a number of readings show some variation. The table below summarises the treatment per verbal root.

Table 25: Treatment of the *ta-ta-* sequence before coronal consonants

Root	Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i	Ḥafṣ	Šu'bah	'Abū 'Amr	Ibn 'Āmir	Ḥiğāzīs
√ḏhr	haplo	haplo	haplo	assim	assim	assim
√s'l	haplo	haplo	haplo	assim	assim	assim
√zwr	haplo	haplo	haplo	assim	N/A ³⁹	assim
√šqq	haplo	haplo	haplo	haplo	assim	assim
√ḏkr	haplo	haplo	assim	assim	assim	assim
√šdq	assim	haplo	haplo	assim	assim	assim
√zky	haplo	haplo	haplo	haplo	haplo	assim
√šdy	haplo	haplo	haplo	haplo	haplo	assim

Besides this approach to an ambiguous *rasm*, al-Bazzī geminates almost every case of the prefix *ta-* when the *rasm* has a single denticle and it is the result of haplology. This results in a word-initial geminate, which subsequently yields rather striking consonant clusters, e.g., Q24:15 *id ttalaqqawnahū* اذ تلقونه and Q60:9 *an ttawallawhumū*.⁴⁰

I.6.8. Shortening of Word-Final *-ī*

Throughout the Qur'ān, especially in verse-final position, as well as verse-internal pauses, places where one would expect long *-ī*, the 'Uṭmānic *rasm* lacks it. This points to a loss of word-final *-ī* in pausal position in Qur'ānic Arabic (Van Putten 2022a, 142–43). The seven readers differ on how such forms are treated. These are both discussed broadly in U.21., and in more detail in dedicated sections at the end of the discussion of every *sūrah*. While the

³⁹ Ibn 'Āmir reads this verb as a different stem, see F.18:17.

⁴⁰ See the discussion at F.2:267. There are two exceptions where one would expect a geminate, but the main transmission paths do not report it.

patterns are mostly analysed as part of the specific variants, there are general patterns, which I summarise here.

The majority of the readers simply follows the *rasm* in the cases of such shortened forms and reads *-ni* in connected speech and *-n#* in pause. For the remaining readers the treatment is dependent on the type of word that has been shortened, which may either be a 1sg. object suffix *-nī*, the 1sg. possessive suffix *-ī*, a noun that ends in *-ī* or a verb that ends in *-ī*. The table below is adapted from Van Putten (2022b, 455).

Table 26: Shortening of word-final *-ī* among the readers

	1sg. object	1sg. possessive	noun	verb
ʾAbū ʿAmr	verse-final: <i>-ni/-n#</i> otherwise: <i>-nī/-n#</i> ⁴¹	verse-final: <i>-i/- -Ø#</i> ⁴²	verse-final: <i>-i/-Ø#</i> otherwise: <i>-ī/-Ø#</i>	verse-final: <i>-ī/-Ø#</i> otherwise: <i>-ī/-Ø#</i>
Warš	verse-final: <i>-ni/-n#</i> (51x); <i>-nī/n#</i> (7x) otherwise: <i>-ni/n#</i> (13x); <i>-nī/n#</i> (10x)	verse-final: <i>-i/- -Ø#</i> (7x); <i>-ī/-Ø#</i> (14x)	<i>-ī/-Ø#</i>	<i>-ī/-Ø#</i> (3x); <i>-i/-Ø#</i> (1x)
Qālūn	verse-final: <i>-ni/-n#</i> otherwise: <i>-ni/-n#</i> (13x); <i>-nī/n#</i> (10x) ⁴³	verse-final: <i>-i/- -Ø#</i>	verse-final: <i>-i/-Ø#</i> otherwise: <i>-ī/-Ø#</i> (6x), <i>-i/-Ø#</i> (2x)	<i>-ī/-Ø#</i> (3x); <i>-i/-Ø#</i> (1x)
Ibn Kaṭīr	<i>-ni/-n#</i> ⁴⁴	<i>-ī/-Ø#</i> ⁴⁵	<i>-ī/-ī#</i>	<i>-ī/-ī#</i>
rest	<i>-ni/-n#</i>	<i>-i/-Ø#</i>	<i>-i/-Ø#</i>	<i>-i/-Ø#</i>

⁴¹ Only Q5:3 is an exception which he reads *wa-ḥšawni/wa-ḥšawn#*.

⁴² All cases of shortened 1sg. suffix are verse-final. There is only one exception to the general rule: Q14:40 which he reads *duʿāʾī/duʿāʾ#*.

⁴³ While the distribution of the *-nī* forms is the same between the two transmitters of Qālūn, the specific words that have the *-nī/-n#* forms or the *-ni/-n#* forms are not identical.

⁴⁴ Q89:15 *ʾakramanī* and Q89:16 *ʾahānanī* are exceptions to this conditioning (Qunbul reads *-nī/-n#* and al-Bazzī reads *-nī/-nī#*). While these are verse-final, these verses are typically not considered to have the highest grade of pause (*al-tāmm*), but rather one lower (*al-kāfi*). ʾAbū ʿAmr also has an option to read the non-verse-final forms *-nī/n#* for this verse.

⁴⁵ Al-Bazzī transmits Q14:40 as *duʿāʾī/duʿāʾī#*, but the other transmitter Qunbul has the expected *duʿāʾī/duʿāʾ#*.

I.7. Navigating the *Taysīr* and Other *qirā'āt* Works

The *Taysīr* is a classic example of a *qirā'āt* work and its organisation follows the conventions of the genre. Due to the highly conventional structure, learning to work with this text will give access to most other works of the genre. The *Taysīr* is divided into three main parts: the preamble, the *'uṣūl* 'general principles' and the *farṣ al-ḥurūf* 'specific variants'.

The organisation of the book assumes that the reader is already familiar with one of the seven reading traditions it describes. As such, points of *tağwīd* where all readers follow the same principles, or words where all readers agree with one another are not discussed. For readers of this book, this introduction serves as a basis for the main concepts of *tağwīd*, and I tried to add notes to the translation where necessary. Familiarity with at least one of the reading traditions can be supplemented by using a modern print copy of the Qur'ān or a website such as www.quran.com.

The preamble of the *Taysīr* contains the introduction (U.1.), the names of the readers described in the work (U.2.), their *'isnāds* back to the Prophet (U.3.), and the *'isnāds* from al-Dānī through the transmitters back to the readers (U.4.). After these, the discussion essentially follows the order of the Qur'ānic text and covers all the topics in order of appearance. Therefore, these sections are followed by one that explains how to pronounce the opening formula before starting recitation, the *isti'āḍah* (U.5.), and a section on how and when to pronounce the *basmalah* (U.6.).

The next section discusses Q1 Sūrat al-Fātiḥah. Here the first variant readings are mentioned already, which would typically be associated with the specific variants (F.2.–F.114.), and the first two major points, which are more naturally part of the general principles, are discussed, namely the morphophonology of the plural pronoun (in response to *'alayhi/um(ū)* in Q1:7) (U.7.), and *al-'idgām al-kabīr*, assimilation across vowels (U.8.), as this general principle becomes relevant in Q1:3–4 where 'Abū 'Amr may assimilate *ar-raḥīm* ~~maliki~~.

After this part, which combines both specific variants and general principles, the book transitions into the *'uṣūl* part proper (U.9.–U.22.). The *'uṣūl* ('general principles') part, which essentially starts with Q2 Sūrat al-Baqarah, is a discussion of morphological and phonological phenomena that operate in every context where they apply. The section follows a fairly typical order, closely matching that of other *qirā'āt* works: the morphophonology of the third person singular masculine pronoun *-hū* (U.9.), overlong vowels (U.10.), the treatment of

hamzah (U.11.), details of assimilation across word boundaries (U.12.), matters concerning *'imālah* and related topics (U.13.–16.), matters concerning *waqf* ('pause') (U.17.–19.) and finally the treatment of the first person singular suffix *-ī*, first detailing when the allomorph *-iya* is used (U.20.) and then how to treat this suffix when the expected *yā* is absent in the *rasm* (U.21.). Finally, the *'uṣūl* part is concluded (U.22.) and we reach the next part, the specific variants.

The *farṣ al-ḥurūf* 'the specific variants' are discussed after the *'uṣūl* (F.2.–F.114.). This part follows the Qur'ān in linear order, mentioning every word where there is disagreement in recitation among the readers not covered by the 'general principles' (*'uṣūl*). These take a standard structure: "readers X, Y and Z read such-and-such, and the rest read such-and-such." The vast majority of the time, the options discussed are binary: a reader either follows one option or the other. Occasionally there are more than two options.

These variants typically concern lexical variation and can slightly influence the meaning of the verse. Frequently, the variant discussed affects that verse and that verse only. However, on occasion al-Dānī specifies that form *a* is used by reader X whenever the word occurs (e.g., Nāfi' reads *nabī* 'prophet' with *hamzah* instead of *nabiyy* whenever the word occurs). Some of these generalised forms are not clearly distinguishable from the morpho-phonological rules of the *'uṣūl* section, and the only reason why they are considered specific variants is because they appear for the first time in the Qur'ān later than the very beginning of Sūrat al-Baqarah. This once again affirms that while the *'uṣūl* versus *farṣ al-ḥurūf* distinction is a traditional one, the main organising principle is the linear order of the Qur'ān, not the logical order of topics to be discussed.

Whenever a certain variant relevant for multiple verses is mentioned for the first time, al-Dānī—and *qirā'āt* authors more generally—usually lists all the relevant verses. Later in the book, he will quite frequently, when a relevant verse comes up, bring it up again, saying, "I have already mentioned such-and-such." When he does so, I provide a footnote pointing to where the earlier discussion took place. Al-Dānī certainly does not do it for every such case, so when the user is looking for a specific variant reading in a specific verse, they should look for the earliest possible case, for example by consulting <https://corpus.quran.com> (which follows the reading tradition of Ḥafṣ ← 'Āṣim), perhaps in combination with <https://nquran.com/ar/ayacompare/>, an app that allows one to compare a single verse

across the different reading traditions (including the three after the seven, not discussed by al-Dānī).

At the end of the section of the specific variants, there is one more section that stipulates the specific practice of pronouncing the *takbīr* by Ibn Kaṭīr, after which the book ends (U.115.).

***THE BOOK OF THE FACILITATION OF THE SEVEN
READING TRADITIONS***

BY 'IMĀM 'ABŪ 'AMR 'UṬMĀN B. SA'ĪD AL-DĀNĪ

U. PREAMBLE AND GENERAL PRINCIPLES

U.1. Introduction

In the name of Allāh, the Entirely Merciful, the Especially Merciful.

ʿAbū ʿAmr ʿUṭmān b. Saʿīd b. ʿUṭmān, the teacher of recitation—may God be pleased with him—said: Praise be to God, the unique in eternity, the bestower of blessings, the creator of creation through His power, the director of affairs through His wisdom, whose command cannot be thwarted, whose judgement cannot be overruled, for He is swift in reckoning. I praise Him for all His blessings. I thank Him for the succession of His bounties and favours. I ask Him that He be abundant in His favours and plentiful in His kindness. May God bless the giver of good news, the warner, the illuminating lamp, our Prophet Muḥammad, may God bless him and his virtuous and pure family, and may He bring them much peace.

Now, you have asked me—may God instruct you well—to compose for you a summary on the ways of the seven readers of the provinces—may God have mercy on them—so that its comprehension will come within reach, its memorisation will become easy, its study will become light, containing those transmissions and paths that are well-known and broadly propagated among the reciters, and that are sound and established among the foremost masters of yore. So, I have responded to what you have asked and applied myself to the composition which you wished in the way that you wanted. I have adopted an approach of brevity, summary and avoidance of length and repetition; I have chosen straightforward words and cut back the interpretations; I have pointed out things in a way which conveys the facts without being exhaustive, in order that they may be arrived at with ease and that their memorisation may be within reach.^(P:2)

I mention for each one of the readers two transmissions. So, I mention:

1. For Nāfiʿ the transmission of Qālūn and Warṣ;
2. For Ibn Kaṭīr the transmission of Qunbul and al-Bazzī from their teachers from him;
3. For ʿAbū ʿAmr the transmission of ʿAbū ʿUmar [al-Dūrī] and ʿAbū Šuʿayb [al-Sūsī] from al-Yazīdī from him;

4. For Ibn 'Āmir the transmission of Ibn Ḍakwān¹ and Hišām from their teachers from him;
5. For 'Āṣim the transmission of 'Abū Bakr and Ḥafṣ;
6. For Ḥamzah the transmission of Ḥalaf and Ḥallād from Sulaym from him;
7. For al-Kisā'i the transmission of 'Abū 'Umar [al-Dūrī] and 'Abū al-Ḥārīt from him.²

So, these are 14 transmissions from them which are the ones recited and relied upon.

When the transmissions from them disagree, I mention the transmitter by his name and leave out the name of his master. If they agree, I mention the master by his name. If Nāfi' and Ibn Kaṭīr agree, I say “the two of the holy cities read” and if 'Āṣim, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i agree, I say “the Kufans read,” seeking for a rough approximation for students, and desiring simplification for beginners.

And upon God—mighty and majestic is He—I depend, to Him I hold fast, in Him I put my trust. He is sufficient for me and to Him I turn in repentance.

First, I will begin this book of mine with the mention of the names of the reciters, and the transmitters from them, their lineage, their patronyms, the date of their death, their countries, and the transmission path (back to the Prophet) of their recitation and naming their teachers, the transmission path of our own recitation to them, and the names of those who conveyed it to us from them in *riwāyah* ('transmission of specific variants') and *tilāwah* ('a full recitation of the Qur'ān to the teacher'). Then I will proceed to mention their manners and disagreements, if God Almighty wills it. Success comes from God.^(P:3)

U.2. The Names of the Readers, the Two Transmitters Transmitting from Each, Their Lineage, Their Countries, Their *kunyahs* and Their Death

U.2.1. Nāfi' the Medinan

He is Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abī Nu'aym, client of Ġa'ūnah b. Ša'ūb al-Layṭī, ally of Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, originally from Isfahan. His patronym was 'Abū Ruwaym. It

¹ *Ibn* is missing in Pretzl (al-Dānī 2008a, 13).

² The word *'anhu* is missing in Pretzl (al-Dānī 2008a, 13).

was also said that it was 'Abū al-Ḥasan and it was also said that it was 'Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān. He died in Medina in the year 169 AH.

Qālūn is 'Isā b. Minā al-Madanī al-Zuraqī, client of the Zuhri's, and he was a teacher of Arabic. His patronym was 'Abū Mūsā and Qālūn was his agnomen. He transmitted that Nāfi' had given him that agnomen due to his excellence in his reading because *qālūn* in the language of the Byzantines means 'good'.³ He died in Medina around the year 220 AH.

Warš is 'Uṭmān b. Sa'īd al-Miṣrī. 'Abū Sa'īd is his patronym and Warš his agnomen, and he was given the agnomen for what was said about the intensity of his whiteness.⁴ He died in Egypt in the year 197 AH.

U.2.2. Ibn Kaṭīr the Meccan

He is 'Abd Allāh b. Kaṭīr al-Dārī, client of 'Amr b. 'Alqamah al-Kinānī. Al-Dārī means 'the perfume seller'. His patronym was 'Abū Ma'bad. He is from among the successors (i.e., the generation after the companions of the Prophet). He died in Mecca in the year 120 AH.

Qunbul is Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ḥālid b. Sa'īd b. Ğurğah al-Makkī al-Maḥzūmī. His patronym is 'Abū 'Umar and his agnomen is Qunbul; it is said that they were a people of a house at Mecca known as the Qanābilah. He died in Mecca after⁵ the year 280 AH.

Al-Bazzī is 'Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Qāsim b. Nāfi' b. 'Abī Bazzah, the muezzin, the Meccan, client of the Banū Maḥzūm. His patronym is 'Abū al-Ḥasan and he is known as al-Bazzī. He died after 240 AH.

Qunbul and al-Bazzī transmitted the reading from Ibn Kaṭīr through a chain of transmission (i.e., they were not his direct students).^(P:4)

³ Presumably from the substantivised form of the adjective τὸ καλόν 'the good one', or possibly in adverbial use. Alternatively it could be an *n*-stem name derived from an *o*-stem adjective, i.e., *Káλων* which is attested as a Greek personal name (see <https://search.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/browse.html?facet-nym-Ref=%CE%9ACE%AC%CE%BB%CF%89%CE%BD>, accessed 2 August 2024). For such a derivation compare the name Στράβων from στραβός 'squint-eyed'. Qālūn is said to have been of Byzantine origin (Ibn al-Ġazari 2006, I:542).

⁴ Al-Dahabī (1995, 323–24) tells us that he was called *Warš* after a dish made from milk by the same name, or after *warāšān* a presumably white bird that resembles a pigeon.

⁵ *Ba'da* is absent in Pretzl (al-Dānī 2008a, 13).

U.2.3. 'Abū 'Amr the Basran

He is 'Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' b. 'Ammār b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ḥārīt b. Ğulhum b. Ḥuzā'ī b. Māzin b. Mālik b. 'Amr b. Tamīm. It was said that his name was Zabbān, or al-'Uryān, or Yaḥyā, or that his patronym was his name, or that it was something other than that. He died in Kufa in the year 154 AH.

'Abū 'Umar is Ḥaṣṣ b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ṣuḥbān al-'Azdī al-Dūrī the grammarian. Al-Dūr is a place in Baġdād. He died in Mecca⁶ around 150 AH.

'Abū Ṣu'ayb is Ṣāliḥ b. Ziyād b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ismā'īl al-Rustubī al-Sūsī.

They both transmitted his reading from 'Abū Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. al-Mubārak al-'Adawī known as al-Yazīdī. He was called al-Yazīdī because of his association with Yazīd b. Maṣṣūr, the maternal uncle of al-Mahdī.⁷ He died in Khorasan in the year 202 AH.

U.2.4. Ibn 'Āmir the Syrian

He is 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir al-Yaḥṣubī, judge of Damascus during the caliphate of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. His patronym was 'Abū 'Imrān. He was among the successors.^(p:5)

Out of the seven readers, only he and 'Abū 'Amr were Arabs. The rest of them were clients (i.e., non-Arabs). He died in Damascus in the year 118 AH.

Ibn Ḍakwān is 'Abd Allāh b. 'Aḥmad b. Baṣīr b. Ḍakwān al-Quraṣī the Damascene. His patronym was 'Abū 'Amr and he died in [Damascus] in the year 242 AH.

Hiṣām is Hiṣām b. 'Ammār b. Nuṣayr b. 'Abān b. Maysarah al-Sulamī, the Damascene judge. His patronym was 'Abū al-Walīd. He died in [Damascus] in the year 245 AH.

They transmitted the reading from Ibn 'Āmir through a chain of transmission (i.e., they were not his direct students).

U.2.5. 'Āṣim the Kufan

He is 'Āṣim b. 'Abī al-Naġūd. He is (also) called Ibn Bahdalah, and it is said that 'Abū al-Naġūd's name was 'Abd and Bahdalah was the name of his mother. He was a client of Naṣr b. Qu'ayn al-'Asadī. His patronym was 'Abū Bakr. He was one of the successors affiliated

⁶ Several manuscripts add *bi-makkata* (al-Dānī 2008a, 13).

⁷ The Abbasid caliph 'Abū 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Manṣūr, also known as al-Mahdī (127–169 AH/744–785 CE).

with al-Ḥārīt b. al-Ḥassān, an envoy of the Banū Bakr. He died in Kufa in the year 128 AH, though it is also said that it was 127 AH.

ʿAbū Bakr is Šuʿbah b. ʿAyyāš b. Sālīm al-Kūfī al-ʿAsadī, a client to them (i.e., Banū ʿAsad). It has also been said that his name was Sālīm, or that his name was his patronym or that it was something other than that. He died in Kufa in the year 194 AH.

Ḥafṣ is Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān b. al-Muġīrah al-ʿAsadī al-Bazzāz al-Kūfī. His patronym was ʿAbū ʿUmar and he was known as Ḥufayṣ. Wakīʿ said he was trustworthy (in the transmission of hadith). Ibn Maʿīn said that he was a better reader than ʿAbū Bakr [Šuʿbah]. He died close to the year 190 AH.

U.2.6. Ḥamzah the Kufan

He is Ḥamzah b. Ḥabīb b. ʿUmārah b. ʿIsmāʿīl al-Zayyāt al-Faraḍī al-Taymī,⁸ a client to them (i.e., Taym). His patronym was ʿAbū ʿUmārah. He died in Ḥulwān during the caliphate of ʿAbū Ġaʿfar al-Manṣūr in the year 156 AH.^(p:6)

Ḥalaf is Ḥalaf b. Hišām al-Bazzār. His patronym is ʿAbū Muḥammad. He is from the people of Fam al-Šilḥ. He died in Baghdad while in hiding during the time of *ġahmiyyah*⁹ in the year 229 AH.

Ḥallād is Ḥallād b. Ḥālīd, and he was called Ibn Ḥulayd, and he was called Ibn ʿĪsā al-Šayrafī al-Kūfī. His patronym was ʿAbū ʿĪsā. He died in [Kufa] in the year 220 AH.

They transmitted the reading from ʿAbū ʿĪsā Sulaym b. ʿĪsā al-Ḥanafī al-Kūfī from Ḥamzah. Sulaym died in Kufa in the year 188 AH, and it is also said 189 AH.

U.2.7. Al-Kisāʿī the Kufan

He is ʿAlī b. Ḥamzah the grammarian, client to the Banū ʿAsad. His patronym was ʿAbū al-Ḥasan. He was called al-Kisāʿī because he wore a cloak (*kisāʿ*) as his pilgrimage garb (*ʿiḥrām*). He died in Ranbūyah, one of the towns of al-Rayy while heading to Ḥurasān with [Hārūn] al-Rašīd in the year 189 AH.

ʿAbū ʿUmar is Ḥafṣ b. ʿUmar al-Dūrī the grammarian, [who was also a] student of al-Yazīdī.

⁸ Pretzl has *al-Tamīmī*. Corrected to *al-Taymī* by al-Ḍāmin (al-Dānī 2008a, 102).

⁹ *Ġahmiyyah* was a sect of Islam led by Ġahm b. Šafwān (d. 128/746) (van Ess 2008).

'Abū al-Ḥārīt is al-Layṭ b. Ḥālid al-Baġdādī.

'Abū 'Amr [al-Dānī] said: These are the names of the seven readers and the transmitters from them in an abbreviated manner. Success comes from God.

U.3. The Teachers

These are the masters who conveyed the recitation to them from the Messenger of God (ṣ).^(p:7)

U.3.1. The Teachers of Nāfi'

The teachers of Nāfi' whom he named are five: 'Abū Ġa'far Yazīd b. al-Qa'qā' the reader, 'Abū Dāwūd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz al-'A'raġ, Šaybah b. Nišāḥ the judge, 'Abū 'Abd Allāh Muslim b. Ġundab al-Huḍalī the storyteller and 'Abū Rawḥ Yazīd b. Rūmān.

They took the reading from 'Abū Hurayrah, Ibn 'Abbās and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ayyāš b. 'Abī Rabī'ah, from 'Ubayy b. Ka'b, from the Prophet (ṣ).

U.3.2. The Teachers of Ibn Kaṭīr

The teachers of Ibn Kaṭīr are three: 'Abd Allāh b. al-Sā'ib al-Maḥzūmī, companion of the Prophet (ṣ), Muġāhid b. Ġabr 'Abū al-Ḥaġġāġ, client of Qays b. al-Sā'ib, and Dirbās, client of Ibn 'Abbās.

'Abd Allāh [b. al-Sā'ib al-Maḥzūmī] himself took [the reading] from 'Ubayy [b. Ka'b]. Muġāhid [b. Ġabr] and Dirbās took it from Ibn 'Abbās [who took it] from 'Ubayy and Zayd b. Tābit [who both took it] from the Prophet (ṣ).

U.3.3. The Teachers of 'Abū 'Amr

The teachers of 'Abū 'Amr are a group of people from the Hijaz and Basra.

So, the people of Mecca are Muġāhid [b. Ġabr], Sa'īd b. Ġubayr, 'Ikrimah b. Ḥālid, 'Aṭā' b. 'Abī Rabāḥ,¹⁰ 'Abd Allāh b. Kaṭīr, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥayšin and Ḥumayd b. Qays al-'A'raġ.

Among the people of Medina are ['Abū Ġa'far] Yazīd b. al-Qa'qā', Yazīd b. Rūmān and Šaybah b. Našāḥ.

¹⁰ 'Abī is missing in the Pretzl edition (al-Dānī 2008a, 14).

Among the people of Basra are al-Ḥasan b. 'Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar and others besides those two.

They took their recitation from those that have preceded (under Ibn Kaṭīr and Nāfi's entries) among the companions [of the Prophet] and others.^(P:8)

U.3.4. The Teachers of Ibn 'Āmir

The teachers of Ibn 'Āmir are 'Abū al-Dardā' 'Uwaymir b. 'Āmir, companion of the Prophet (ṣ), and al-Muḡīrah b. 'Abī Šihāb al-Maḥzūmī. 'Abū al-Dardā' took [his recitation] from the Prophet (ṣ) and Muḡīrah took it from 'Uṭmān b. 'Affān (r) from the Prophet (ṣ).

It was transmitted to us from al-Walīd b. Muslim from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārīṭ al-Damārī that Ibn 'Āmir recited to 'Uṭmān himself. This is incorrect.

U.3.5. The Teachers of 'Āṣim

The teachers of 'Āṣim are 'Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī and 'Abū Maryam Zirr b. Ḥubayš.

'Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān took [his reading] from 'Uṭmān b. 'Affān, 'Alī b. 'Abī Ṭālib, 'Ubayy b. Ka'b, Zayd b. Ṭābit and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd (r), who took it from the Prophet (ṣ).

Zirr took [his reading] from 'Uṭmān and Ibn Mas'ūd (r) from the Prophet (ṣ).

U.3.6. The Teachers of Ḥamzah

The teachers of Ḥamzah are a group of people, among them 'Abū Muḥammad Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-'A'maš, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abī Laylā the judge, Ḥumrān b. 'A'yan, 'Abū 'Ishāq al-Sabī'i, Manšūr b. al-Mu'tamir, Muḡīrah b. Miqsam, Ġa'far b. Muḥammad al-Šādiq and others.

Al-'A'maš took (his reading) from Yaḥyā b. Wattāb, and Yaḥyā took it from a group of the companions of Ibn Mas'ūd: 'Alqamah, al-'Aswad, 'Ubayd b. Nuḍaylah al-Ḥuzā'i, Zirr b. Ḥubayš, 'Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī from Ibn Mas'ūd, from the Prophet (ṣ).^(P:9)

U.3.7. The Teachers of al-Kisā'i

The teachers of al-Kisā'i are Ḥamzah b. Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt, 'Īsā b. 'Umar al-Hamdānī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abī Laylā and others from the masters of the Kufans.

However, the material of his reading and the foundation of his personal selection comes from Ḥamzah. We have already mentioned the path back to the Prophet of his reading.

ʾAbū ʿAmr [al-Dānī] said: So, these are the appellations of the teachers of the masters of the seven readings in the regional capitals. Success comes from God.

U.4. The ʾisnāds Which Conveyed to Me the Recitation from These Masters along the Described Paths (*ṭuruq*) in the Modes of Both *riwāyah* and *tilāwah*

U.4.1. The ʾisnād of the Reading of Nāfiʿ

U.4.1.1. The Transmission of Qālūn from [Nāfiʿ]

ʾAḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Ġizī narrated to us, saying: Muḥammad b. ʾAḥmad b. Munīr narrated to us, saying: ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĪsā al-Madanī narrated to us, saying: Qālūn narrated it to us from Nāfiʿ.

I have recited the full Qurʾān according to [this transmission] to my master ʾAbū al-Faṭḥ Fāris b. ʾAḥmad b. Mūsā b. ʿImrān, the teacher of recitation, the blind. He said to me: I recited it to ʾAbū al-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. al-Ḥasan, the teacher of recitation. He said: I recited it to ʾIbrāhīm b. ʿUmar, the teacher of recitation. He said: I recited it to ʾAbū al-Ḥusayn ʾAḥmad b. ʿUṭmān b. Ġaʿfar b. Būyān. He said: I recited it to ʾAbū Bakr ʾAḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-ʾAṣʿaṭ. He said: I recited it to ʾAbū Naṣīṭ Muḥammad b. Hārūn. He said: I recited it to Qālūn. He said: I recited it to Nāfiʿ.

U.4.1.2. The Transmission of Warš

ʾAbū ʿAbd Allāh ʾAḥmad b. Maḥfūḍ (= ʾAḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Ġizī) the judge narrated to us in Egypt, saying: ʾAḥmad b. ʾIbrāhīm b. Ġāmiʿ narrated to us, saying: ʾAbū Muḥammad Bakr b. Sahl narrated to us, saying: ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān narrated to us, saying: Warš narrated it to us from Nāfiʿ.^(P:10)

I have recited the full Qurʾān according to it (i.e., this transmission) to ʾAbū al-Qāsim Ḥalaf b. ʾIbrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāqān, the teacher of recitation in Egypt. He said to me that he recited it to ʾAbū Ġaʿfar ʾAḥmad b. ʾUsāmāh al-Tuġībī. He said: I recited it to ʾIsmāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Naḥḥās. He said: I recited it to ʾAbū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. ʿAmr b. Yasār al-ʾAzraq. He said: I recited it to Warš. He said: I recited it to Nāfiʿ.

U.4.2. The *'isnād* of the Reading of Ibn Kaṭīr

U.4.2.1. The Transmission of Qunbul

'Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Baġdādī narrated to us, saying: Ibn Muġāhid narrated it to us, saying: I recited it to Qunbul. He said: I recited it to 'Abū al-Ḥasan 'Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Awn al-Qawwās. He said: I recited it to 'Abū al-'Ihrīṭ Wahb b. Wāḍiḥ. He said: I recited it to 'Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qusṭ. He said: I recited it to Šibl b. 'Abbād and Ma'rūf b. Muškān. They said: We recited it to Ibn Kaṭīr.

I have recited the full Qur'ān to Fāris b. 'Aḥmad al-Ḥimšī, the teacher of recitation. He said: I recited it to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Baġdādī. He said: I recited it to Ibn Muġāhid. He said: I recited it to Qunbul.

U.4.2.2. The Transmission of al-Bazzī

Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad [b. 'Alī al-Baġdādī], the scribe narrated it to us, saying: 'Aḥmad b. Mūsā [Ibn Muġāhid] narrated it to us, saying: Muḍar b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī narrated it to us, saying: Ibn 'Abī Bazzah (= al-Bazzī) narrated to us, saying: I recited it to 'Ikrimah b. Sulaymān b. 'Āmir and he said: I recited it to 'Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qusṭ. He said: I recited it to Ibn Kaṭīr himself. Thus said al-Bazzī.¹¹ (p:11)

I have recited the whole Qur'ān to 'Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ġa'far b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī, the teacher of recitation. He said to me: I recited the Qur'ān to 'Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Naqqāš. He said to me: I recited the Qur'ān from 'Abū Rabī'ah Muḥammad b. 'Ishāq al-Raba'ī. He said: I recited it to al-Bazzī.

¹¹ This phrase must presumably be understood as al-Dānī being doubtful of that connection. In the *'isnāds* of Qunbul back to Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Qusṭ does not have a direct connection to Ibn Kaṭīr, but instead transmits from Šibl b. 'Abbād and Ma'rūf b. Muškān, who in turn transmits from Ibn Kaṭīr.

U.4.3. The 'isnād of the Reading of 'Abū 'Amr

U.4.3.1. The Transmission of 'Abū 'Umar [al-Dūrī]

Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad b. 'Alī narrated to us, saying: 'Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad b. Qaṭan in the year 318 AH narrated to us, saying: 'Abū Ḥallād Sulaymān b. Ḥallād narrated to us, saying: al-Yazīdī narrated it to us from 'Abū 'Amr.¹²

I have recited the whole Qur'ān along the transmission path of 'Abū 'Umar to our master 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ġa'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Ishāq [al-Fārisī] al-Baġdādī, the teacher of recitation. He said to me: I recited it to 'Abū Ṭāhir 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Umar b. 'Abī Hāšim, the teacher of recitation, too many times to count. He said: I recited it to 'Abū Bakr b. Muġāhid. He said: I recited it to 'Abū Za'rā' 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdūs. He said: I recited it to 'Abū 'Umar [al-Dūrī] and he said: I recited it to al-Yazīdī. He said: I recited it to 'Abū 'Amr.

U.4.3.2. The Transmission of 'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī]

Ḥalaf b. 'Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, the teacher of recitation, narrated it to us, saying: 'Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Rašīq al-Mu'addal narrated to us, saying: 'Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Aḥmad b. Šu'ayb al-Nasā'ī narrated to us, saying: 'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī] narrated to us, saying: al-Yazīdī narrated it to us from 'Abū 'Amr.^(P:12)

I recited the whole Qur'ān both without assimilation of the first letter of two that are identical or close to each other, and with assimilation¹³ from Fāris b. 'Aḥmad, the teacher of recitation. He said to me: I recited it like that to 'Abd Alḷāh b. al-Ḥusayn, the teacher of recitation. He said to me: I recited it like that from 'Abū 'Imrān Mūsā b. Ġarīr, the grammarian. He said: I recited it to 'Abū Šu'ayb. He said: I recited it to al-Yazīdī. He said: I recited it to 'Abū 'Amr.

¹² Note that, despite al-Dānī's statement that he will discuss al-Dūrī's 'isnād here, the *riwāyah* 'isnād of al-Dūrī lacks al-Dūrī altogether, instead going through 'Abū Ḥallād. In the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* this 'isnād is mentioned as the *Ṭarīq 'Abī Ḥallād* (al-Dānī 2007, 329).

¹³ For the principles of assimilation of 'Abū 'Amr, see U.8.

U.4.3.3. [*ʿIsnāds* for the Principles of Assimilation]

ʿAbū ʿAmr [al-Dānī] said: Muḥammad b. ʿAḥmad narrated to us the principles of assimilation from Ibn Muğāhid from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdūs from al-Dūrī from al-Yazīdī from ʿAbū ʿAmr.

ʿAbū al-Ḥasan [Ibn Ġalbūn], our master, also narrated it to us, saying: ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak narrated it from Ġaʿfar b. Sulaymān from ʿAbū Šuʿayb [al-Sūsī] from al-Yazīdī from ʿAbū ʿAmr.

U.4.4. The *ʿisnād* of the Reading of Ibn ʿĀmir

U.4.4.1. The Transmission of Ibn Ḍakwān

Muḥammad b. ʿAḥmad narrated it to us, saying: ʿAḥmad b. Mūsā [Ibn Muğāhid] narrated to us, saying: ʿAḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tağlibī narrated to us, saying: ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḍakwān narrated to us, saying: ʿAyyūb b. Tamīm al-Tamīmī narrated to us, saying: Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārīt al-Ḍamārī narrated to us, saying: I recited it to Ibn ʿĀmir.

ʿAbū ʿAmr [al-Dānī] said: I have recited the full Qurʾān to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ġaʿfar al-Fārisī, the teacher of recitation. He said to me: I recited it to ʿAbū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Naqqāš. He said: I recited it in Damascus to ʿAbū ʿAbd Allāh Hārūn b. Mūsā b. Šarīk al-ʿAḥfaš. Al-ʿAḥfaš transmitted it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḍakwān.

U.4.4.2. The Transmission of Hišām

Muḥammad b. ʿAḥmad narrated it to us, saying: Ibn Muğāhid narrated to us, saying: al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbī Mihrān al-Ġammāl narrated to us, saying: ʿAḥmad b. Yazīd al-Ḥulwānī narrated to us, saying: Hišām b. ʿAmmār narrated to us, saying: ʿIrāk b. Ḥālīd al-Murrī narrated to us, saying: I recited it to Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥārīt al-Ḍamārī, saying: I recited it to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir.

ʿAbū ʿAmr [al-Dānī] said: I have recited the whole Qurʾān to our master ʿAbū al-Faṭḥ. He said to me: I recited it to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn, the teacher of recitation, and he said: I recited it to Muḥammad b. ʿAḥmad b. ʿAbdān. He said: I recited it to al-Ḥulwānī. He said: I recited it to Hišām. ^(P:13)

U.4.5. The *'isnād* of the Reading of 'Āṣim

U.4.5.1. The Transmission of 'Abū Bakr [Šu'bah]

Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad b. 'Alī the scribe narrated it to us, saying: Ibn Muğāhid narrated to us, saying: 'Ibrāhīm b. 'Aḥmad b. 'Umar al-Wakī'ī narrated it to us, saying: my father narrated it to us, saying: Yahyā b. 'Ādam narrated to us, saying: 'Abū Bakr narrated to us from 'Āṣim.

'Abū 'Amr [al-Dānī] said: I have recited the full Qur'ān to Fāris b. 'Aḥmad the teacher of recitation. He said to me: I recited it to 'Abū al-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Bāqī b. al-Ḥasan, the teacher of recitation. He said: I recited it to 'Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Aḥmad al-Bağdādī, the teacher of recitation. He said: I recited it to Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb al-Wāsiṭī. He said: I recited it to Šu'ayb b. 'Ayyūb al-Šarīfinī. He said: I recited it to Yahyā b. 'Ādam, transmitting from of 'Abū Bakr from 'Āṣim.

'Abū 'Amr [al-Dānī] said: Fāris b. 'Aḥmad said to me: I recited it also to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn. And he informed me that he recited to 'Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Qāfulānī. And 'Aḥmad recited to al-Šarīfinī, transmitting from Yahyā [b. 'Ādam] from 'Abū Bakr from 'Āṣim.

U.4.5.2. The Transmission of Ḥafṣ

'Abū al-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. Ġalbūn, the teacher of recitation, related it to us, saying: 'Abū Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Šālīḥ al-Hāšimī the blind, who was a teacher of recitation, related it to us in Basra, saying: 'Abū 'Abbās 'Aḥmad b. Sahl al-'Ušnānī related to us, saying: I recited to 'Abū Muḥammad 'Ubayd b. al-Šabbāḥ. He said: I recited to Ḥafṣ. And he said: I recited to 'Āṣim. ^(P:14)

'Abū 'Amr [al-Dānī] said: I have recited the complete Qur'ān to our master 'Abū al-Ḥasan [Ibn Ġalbūn]. He said to me: I recited it to al-Hāšimī. He said: I recited it to al-'Ušnānī, transmitting from 'Ubayd from Ḥafṣ from 'Āṣim.

U.4.6. The *'isnād* of the Reading of Ḥamzah

U.4.6.1. The Transmission of Ḥalaf

Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad related it to us, saying: Ibn Muğāhid related to us, saying: 'Idrīs b. 'Abd al-Karīm related to us, saying: Ḥalaf related to us, transmitting from Sulaym from Ḥamzah.

I have recited the complete Qurʾān to our master ʾAbū al-Ḥasan [Ibn Ḡalbūn]. He said to me: I recited it to ʾAbū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Nahār al-Ḥirtakī in Basra. He said to me: I recited it to ʾAbū al-Ḥusayn ʾAḥmad b. ʿUṭmān b. Ḡaʿfar b. Būyān. He said: I recited to ʾIdrīs b. ʿAbd al-Karīm before he taught according to the personal preference (*iḥtiyār*) of Ḥalaf (as opposed to the reading of Ḥamzah). He said: I recited to Ḥalaf. He said: I recited to Sulaym. He said: I recited to Ḥamzah.

U.4.6.2. The Transmission of Ḥallād

Muḥammad b. ʾAḥmad related it to us, saying: ʾAḥmad b. Mūsā [Ibn Muḡāhid] related it to us, saying: Yaḥyā b. ʾAḥmad b. Hārūn al-Muzawwiq related it to us from ʾAḥmad b. Yazīd al-Hulwānī from Ḥallād from Sulaym from Ḥamzah.

I have recited the complete Qurʾān to ʾAbū al-Faṭḥ the blind, our master. He said to me: I recited it to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn, the teacher of recitation. He said: I recited it to Muḥammad b. ʾAḥmad b. Šanabūd. He said: I recited to ʾAbū Bakr Muḥammad b. Šādān al-Ḡawharī, the teacher of recitation. He said: I recited to Ḥallād. He said: I recited to Sulaym, and Sulaym recited to Ḥamzah.^(P:15)

U.4.7. The *ʾisnād* of the Reading of al-Kisāʾī

U.4.7.1. The Transmission of [ʾAbū ʿUmar] al-Dūrī

ʾAbū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Muʿaddal narrated it to us, saying: ʿAbd Allāh b. ʾAḥmad narrated to us, saying: Ḡaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʾAsad al-Naṣībī narrated to us, saying: ʾAbū ʿUmar al-Dūrī narrated to us from al-Kisāʾī.

I have recited the complete Qurʾān to ʾAbū al-Faṭḥ. He said to me: I recited it to ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. al-Ḥasan. He said: I recited it to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḡulandā al-Mawṣilī. He said: I recited it to Ḡaʿfar b. Muḥammad. He said: I recited it to ʾAbū ʿUmar. He said: I recited it to al-Kisāʾī.

U.4.7.2. The Transmission of ʾAbū al-Ḥārīṭ [al-Layṭ]

Muḥammad b. ʾAḥmad narrated it to us, saying: Ibn Muḡāhid narrated it to us, saying: Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā narrated it to us from ʾAbū al-Ḥārīṭ from al-Kisāʾī.

I have recited the complete Qurʾān to Fāris b. ʾAḥmad. He said to me: I recited it to ʾAbū al-Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. al-Ḥasan. He said: I recited it to Zayd b. ʿAlī. He said: I recited

to 'Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan known as al-Baṭṭī. He said: I recited to Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Kisā'i.¹⁴ He said: I recited to 'Abū al-Ḥārīṭ. He said: I recited to al-Kisā'i.

'Abū 'Amr [al-Dānī] said: So, these are some of the *'isnāds* which convey these transmissions to us, by *riwāyah* and *tilāwah*. Success comes from God.

U.5. *Al-isti'ādah*

Know that the practice among the experts of the people of the oral tradition¹⁵ regarding its wording is *'a'ūdu bi-llāhi min aš-šayṭāni r-raḡīm* to the exclusion of any other (wording). That is because of its consistency with the Book and the Sunnah.

As for the Book, the words of God Almighty to the Prophet (s) were: *fa-'idā qara'ta l-qur'āna fa-sta'id bi-llāhi min aš-šayṭāni r-raḡīm* "When you recite the Qur'ān, seek refuge with God from Satan the accursed" (Q16:98).^(P:16)

As for the Sunnah, what Nāfi' b. Ḡubayr b. Muṭ'im transmitted from his father from the Prophet (ṣ) is that he would seek refuge before reciting the Qur'ān with these very same words. And with this (wording) is what I recited (to my teachers) and this is what I adopt.

I do not know of any disagreement between the people of the practice in pronouncing it out loud at the start of the Qur'ān or when starting at the beginning of divisions (e.g., a division of the Qur'ān into 30 *'ağzā'*) or anywhere else, according to the tradition of the community, thus following the texts and following the model of the Sunnah.

As for the transmission of that (i.e., pronouncing it out loud), it was transmitted from 'Abū 'Amr as practice in the path of 'Abū Ḥamdūn from al-Yazīdī from him ('Abū 'Amr), and in the path of Muḥammad b. Ḡālib from Šuḡā' from him ('Abū 'Amr).

'Ishāq al-Musayyabī transmitted it from Nāfi' that he used to say it inaudibly in all of the Qur'ān.

Sulaym transmitted from Ḥamzah that he used to pronounce it out loud at the beginning of 'Umm al-Qur'ān (Q1) only and would say it inaudibly after that in the rest of the Qur'ān. Ḥalaf said it likewise, transmitting from him. Ḥallād, transmitting from him, said

¹⁴ The *'isnād* in the Pretzl edition stops at the first of the two al-Kisā'īs, but this is the wrong one. I have completed the *'isnād* (al-Dānī 2008a, 16).

¹⁵ Al-Dānī frequently contrasts (*'ahl*) *al-'adā'* '(the people of) the oral tradition', i.e., the living oral tradition with what is found in *naṣṣ* 'texts', i.e., the transmitted forms in the written record.

that he would allow both saying it out loud and inaudibly for the complete Qur'ān. As for the rest: nothing written has come from them on that topic at all. Success comes from God.

U.6. The *tasmiyah*

(The readers) disagree in the saying of the *tasmiyah*¹⁶ between the *sūrahs*. Ibn Kaṭīr, Qālūn, 'Āṣim and al-Kisā'ī say the *tasmiyah* between two *sūrahs* in the whole Qur'ān except between al-'Anfāl (Q8) and Barā'ah (= al-Tawbah, Q9). There is no disagreement in the absence of the saying of the *tasmiyah* between these two. The rest, for what I have recited for them, do not say the *tasmiyah* between *sūrahs*.

The companions of Ḥamzah connect the end of a *sūrah* with the beginning of the next (in one breath, without a pause). It is preferred in the tradition of Warš, 'Abū 'Amr and Ibn 'Āmir to have a silence between two *sūrahs* without interruption (i.e., without drawing breath). Ibn Muğāhid considers it (proper) to connect one *sūrah* to the next without dropping the *'irāb*. He also considers it (proper) with a silence.^(p:17)

Some of our masters, when reading in these traditions (i.e., Warš, 'Abū 'Amr and Ibn 'Āmir), used to say the *tasmiyah* between al-Muddaṭṭir (Q74) and al-Qiyāmah (Q75), between al-Infiṭār (Q82) and al-Muṭaffifīn (Q83), between al-Fağr (Q89) and al-Balad (Q90) and between al-'Aşr (Q103) and al-Humazah (Q104). And when reading in the manner of Ḥamzah, they used to introduce a silence between these pairs of *sūrahs* (without the *tasmiyah*). There is no report of that which is transmitted from them (i.e., from Warš, 'Abū 'Amr, Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah); it is only a matter of preference of the masters.

There is no disagreement in the saying of the *tasmiyah* at the beginning of the *Fātiḥah* (Q1) or at the beginning of each *sūrah* that a reciter begins on and has not connected with what is before it, in the tradition of those who separate (*sūrahs* with a *tasmiyah*) and of those who do not.

As for beginning at the start of a division of the Qur'ān which is in (the middle of) a *sūrah*, my teachers allow the reciter to choose between saying the *tasmiyah* and omitting it.

Separation (i.e., drawing breath) after the *tasmiyah* when one has connected it with the end of the (previous) *sūrah* is not allowed. Success comes from God.

¹⁶ Also known as the *basmalah*, i.e., to say *bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi*.

U.7. Sūrat 'Umm al-Qur'ān

4: 'Āṣim and al-Kisā'i read *māliki yawmi d-dīni* with an 'alif. The rest read it without an 'alif (i.e., *maliki*).

6, 7: Ḥalaf reads *aṣ-ṣirāt* and *ṣirāt* wherever they occur giving the smell of the *zāy* to the *ṣād*. Ḥallād reads with giving the smell of the *zāy* in the words of the Almighty *aṣ-ṣirāṭa l-mustaqīmi* here (Q1:6) only. Qunbul reads them with a *sīn* whenever they occur (i.e., *as-sirāt*, *sirāt*), and the rest read them all with a *ṣād* (i.e., *aṣ-ṣirāt*, *ṣirāt*).^(P:18)

U.7.1. [The Morphology of the Plural Pronouns]

Ḥamzah reads 'alayhum, 'ilayhum and ladayhum with *ḍammah* on the *hā'*. The rest read them with *kasrah* (i.e., 'alayhim(ū), 'ilayhim(ū), ladayhim(ū)).

Ibn Kaṭīr and Qālūn, with some disagreement among his transmitters, place *ḍammah* on the *mīm* that marks plurality and attaches to it a *wāw* (i.e., 'antumū, -tumū, -kumū, humū, -humū, -himū) whether it is with *hamzah* (following it) or without it. For example, 'alayhimū 'ā'andartahumū 'am lam tundirhumū (Q2:6) and what is like it.

Warš only adds the *ḍammah* and *wāw* to it when there is *hamzah* (following it) (i.e., 'alayhimū 'ā'andartahum), and the rest does not place a vowel on it (the *mīm*) (i.e., 'alayhim 'ā'/.andartahum).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i place *ḍammah* on the *hā'* and the *mīm* when there is *kasrah* or *yā'* before the *hā'*, and a two-consonant cluster ('alif waṣl) after the *mīm*. For example, 'alayhumu ḍ-ḍillatu (Q2:61) and bihumu l-'asbābu (Q2:166) and what is like it. That is in the case of connected speech. When they pause on the *mīm*, they place *kasrah* on the *hā'* and no vowel on the *mīm* (i.e., bihim#). But Ḥamzah, following his principles of the three words mentioned earlier, places *ḍammah* on the *hā'* in all cases (i.e., 'alayhum#, 'ilayhum# and ladayhum#).

'Abū 'Amr places *kasrah* on the *hā'* and the *mīm* in all of those (words) when they occur in connected speech (before a two-consonant cluster) (i.e., 'alayhimi, ḍ-ḍillatu, bihimi l-'asbāb).

The rest places *kasrah* on the *hā'* and *ḍammah* on the *mīm* in connected speech (before a two-consonant cluster) (i.e., 'alayhimu ḍ-ḍillatu, bihimu l-(')asbāb). There is no disagreement between the community (of readers) that the *mīm* in all that has preceded does not carry a vowel in pause.

U.8. Explanation of 'Abū 'Amr's Approach to Major Assimilation (*al-'idgām al-kabīr*)

Know—may God instruct you—that I have singled out 'Abū 'Amr's approach in this chapter to his assimilation of (pairs of) vowelised letters which are identical in pronunciation or close in place of articulation, and nothing else.

These occur in two cases: within a single word and across words. I will explain this according to the way I have received it via *riwāyah* or *tilāwah*, if God Almighty wills it. Success comes from God.^(P:19)

U.8.1. Two Identical (Letters) within a Word and between Two Words

Know that 'Abū 'Amr does not assimilate two identical sounds word-internally except for two instances, and nothing else. The first of these two is in al-Baqarah (Q2:200) *manāsikakum* (→ *manāsikakum*). The second is in al-Muddattir (Q74:42) *mā salakakum* (→ *mā salakakum*). He leaves everything other than that unassimilated: for example, *ḡibāhuhum* (Q9:35), *wuḡūhuhum* (e.g., Q3:106), *bi-ṣirkikum* (Q35:14), *'a-tuḥāḡḡūnanā* (Q2:139), *'a-ta'idānini* (Q46:17), and what is like it.

As for two identical sounds when they are in two different words, he assimilates the first to the second of the two, regardless of whether the preceding letter is unvowelised or vowelised, throughout the whole Qur'ān: for example, in His speech *fīhi hudan* (→ *fīhihudan*) (Q2:2), *'innahū huwa*¹⁷ (→ *innahūhuwa*) (e.g., Q2:37), *li-'ibādatihī hal* (→ *li-'ibādatihīhal*) (Q19:65), *'an ya'tiya yawmun* (→ *'an yātiyyawmun*) (e.g., Q2:254), *min ḥizyi yawmi'idīn* (→ *min ḥizyiyawmi'idīn*) (Q11:66), *lā 'abraḥu ḥattā* (→ *lā 'abraḥḥattā*) (Q18:60), *yašfa'u 'indahū* (→ *yašfa'indahū*) (Q2:255), *'idā qīla lahum* (→ *'idā qīlalahum*) (e.g., Q2:11), *yastahyūna nisā'akum* (*yastahyūnnisā'akum*) (e.g., Q2:49), *nusabbiḥaka kaṭīran* (→ *nusabbiḥakkaṭīran*) (Q20:33), *naḍkuraka kaṭīran* (→ *naḍkurakkaṭīran*) (Q20:34), *an-nāsa sukārē* (→ *an-nāssukārē*) (Q22:2), *aš-šawkati takūnu* (→ *aš-šawkatatakūnu*) (Q8:7), *ṣahrū ramaḍāna* (→ *ṣahrūramadāna*) (Q2:185), *mā ḥtalafa fīhi* (→ *mā ḥtalafḥīhi*) (Q2:213), *ya'lamu mā* (→ *ya'lamāmā*) (e.g., Q2:77), *la-ḍahaba bi-sam'ihim* (→ *la-ḍahabḥi-sam'ihim*) (Q2:20) and what is similar to it among the remaining letters of the alphabet whenever they occur, except in the words of the Almighty in Luqmān (Q31:23) *fa-lā yaḥzunka kufruhū*: he does not assimilate

¹⁷ Note that this rule operates as if the pronominal suffix is a short *-hu* (see U.9. for the *ṣilat al-hā'*).

because of the unvowelled *nūn* before the *kāf*, as it has undergone partial assimilation (*ʾihfāʾ*)¹⁸ to it.

When the first of the two similar letters is geminate or it carries *tanwīn* or it is the second person suffix *-ta/-ti* (*tāʾ al-ḥiṭāb*)¹⁹ or the suffix *-tu* of the first person (*tāʾ al-mutakallim*),²⁰—for example in His speech *wa-ʾuḥilla lakum* (e.g., Q2:187), *massa saqara* (Q54:48), *ṣawāffa fa-ʾidā* (Q22:36), *ʾummi mūsā* (Q28:7, 10), *al-yammi mā* (Q20:78), *min ʾanṣērīn // rabbīnā* (Q3:192-3), *ʾa-fa-ʾanta tukrihu* (Q10:99), *kuntu turāban* (Q78:40) and what is like it—he does not assimilate them either.^(P:20)

If it is a defective word,²¹ for example in the words *wa-man yabtaḡi ḡayra l-ʾislāmi dīnan* (Q3:85), *yaḥlu lakum* (Q12:9), *ʾin yaku kāḏiban* (Q40:28), and what is like it, the people of the oral tradition disagree on it. So, the approach of Ibn Muḡāhid and his companions is to refrain from assimilation. The approach of ʾAbū Bakr al-Dāḡūnī²² and others is to apply assimilation. I myself have recited it in both ways.

I do not know of any disagreement on the assimilation in the words *wa-yā qawmi man yaṣṣurunī* (→ *wa-yā qawm-man yaṣṣurunī*) (Q11:30), *yā qawmi mā liya* (→ *yā qawm-mā liya*) (Q40:41), while it belongs to the defective words.²³

As for His speech *ʾāla lūṭin* (e.g., Q15:59), whenever it occurs, the majority of the Baghdadis (i.e., Baghdadis transmitters of al-Yazīdī) adopt it without assimilation, and this is what Ibn Muḡāhid adopts. It may be defective because of the paucity of letters in the word. Others used to adopt assimilation (in this phrase), and I recite it with assimilation. After all, they

¹⁸ The term *ʾihfāʾ* refers here to the place-of-articulation assimilation of the *nūn* to following consonants. This process is a default rule in Qurʾānic *taḡwīd* and is not explicitly discussed in the *Taysīr* (see I.5.4.4.).

¹⁹ Literally *tāʾ* of the address, it refers to the 2nd person singular perfect suffixes *-ta* and *-ti* (but also to the last syllable of the pronouns *ʾanta* and *ʾanti*).

²⁰ Literally *tāʾ* of the speaker, it refers to the 1st person singular suffix conjugation suffix *-tu*.

²¹ This is any word-final short vowel that is the result of apocopation of the final long vowel to a short vowel.

²² Neither in U.4.3.3. nor in the *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān* does al-Dāḡūnī feature in any *ʾisnād* related to ʾAbū ʿAmr. He however authored a book on the differences between ʾAbū ʿAmr and Ibn ʿĀmir. It seems likely that this is where this information comes from (Hamdan 2018, 91 n. 5).

²³ This is the 1sg. ending *-ī* that is shortened to *-i* in vocatives.

agreed on the assimilation of *laka kaydan* ($\rightarrow$ *lak-kaydan*) in Yūsuf (Q12:15) and that word (i.e., *laka*) has even fewer letters than *ʿāla*, because it is only two letters, so that shows that it is correct to read it with assimilation (i.e., *ʿāl-lūṭin*).

If lack of assimilation is correct, then it is because of the defectiveness of its second root letter. So, the *hāʾ* (of $|\text{'ahl}|$, which is taken as the underlying form) is exchanged for the *hamzah* (to make $|\text{'a'l}|$) and then the *hamzah* is changed into *ʿalif* (to make $|\text{'aAl}|$), and nothing else.

The people of the oral tradition also disagree on the (assimilation) of the *wāw* of *huwa* when there is *ḍammah* on the *hāʾ* before it, and it meets with the same letter (another *wāw*): for example, in the words of the Almighty *ʿillā huwa wa-malāʾikatu* (Q3:18), and *kaʿan-nah-huwa wa-ʿūtīnā l-ʿilma* (Q27:42), and what is like it. Ibn Muğāhid adopts it without assimilation, and the others adopt it with assimilation (i.e., *ʿillā huw-wa-malāʾikatu*, *ka-ʿan-nah-huw-wa-ʿūtīnā l-ʿilma*).

I recite it with assimilation, and it is by force of analogy because Ibn Muğāhid and others are in agreement on the assimilation of a *yāʾ* to another *yāʾ* in His speech *ʿan yaʿtiya yawmun* ($\rightarrow$ *ʿan yāṭiy-yawmun*)²⁴ (e.g., Q2:254) and *nūdiya yā mūsā* ($\rightarrow$ *nūdiy-yā mūsā*) (Q20:11). There is a *kasrah* before the *yāʾ* and there is no (relevant) difference between the two categories.²⁵

If the *hāʾ* of *huwa* does not carry a vowel (*hwa*),²⁶ or if there is another unvowelled letter other than the *hāʾ* before the *wāw*, there is no disagreement on the assimilation, and that is, for example, in His speech *wa-hwa waliyyuhum* ($\rightarrow$ *wa-hw-waliyyuhum*) (Q6:127), *wa-hwa wāqīʿun bihim* ($\rightarrow$ *wa-hw-wāqīʿun bihim*) (Q42:22), *ḥuḍi l-ʿafwa wa-ʿmur* ($\rightarrow$ *ḥuḍi l-ʿafw-wāmur*) (Q7:199), *min al-lahwi wa-min at-tiğārati* ($\rightarrow$ *min al-lahw-wa-min at-tiğārati*) (Q62:11) and what is similar to it.^(P:21)

²⁴ In al-Dānī's stipulation, whenever ʿAbū ʿAmr applies major assimilation, he also applies the rule of dropping the *hamzah* that does not carry a vowel. See section U.11.5. I therefore apply both rules between the brackets that show the resulting form.

²⁵ Pretzl has "there is no difference between the two *yāʾ*s" (باين). This should be read as باين (al-Dānī 2008a, 18).

²⁶ The *u* in *huwa* and the *i* in *hiya* is dropped when *la-*, *wa-* or *fa-* precedes them (see F.2:29.).

As for His speech *wa-llā'i ya'isna* in al-Ṭalāq (Q65:4), 'Abū 'Amr's practice is to replace the *hamzah* with a vowelless *yā'* (*wa-llāy*), and it is not permissible to assimilate it, because the replacing letter (the *yā'* in place of the *hamzah*) is accidental (i.e., it is not part of the underlying form).²⁷ That is reinforced by the defectiveness of this word, as the *yā'* has been removed at the end²⁸ and the *hamzah* has been replaced with the *yā'*. If it was assimilated there would be a meeting of those three defects (i.e., 1. the dropping of *yā'*, 2. the replacement of *hamzah* and 3. assimilation). Success comes from God.

U.8.2. Two Letters that Are Close to One Another within a Word and Two Words

Know that he ('Abū 'Amr) also does not assimilate two sounds that are close to one another (in place of articulation) when they occur within a word, except the *qāf* to the *kāf* that is part of the masculine plural pronoun (*-kum*) when the letter before the *qāf* is vowelless, and nothing else. That is, for example, in the words *ḥalaqakum* (→ *ḥalak-kum*) (e.g., Q2:21), *razaqakum* (→ *razak-kum*) (e.g., Q5:88), *yaḥluqakum* (→ *yaḥluk-kum*) (Q39:6), *yarzuqakum* (→ *yarzuk-kum*) (e.g., Q10:31), *wāṭaqakum* (→ *wāṭak-kum*) (Q5:7), and what is like it.

For the remainder, he leaves (the *qāf*) unassimilated when the letter before the *qāf* is unvowelless, and when there is no *mīm* that follows the *kāf*, for example in the words *miṭāqakum* (Q2:63, etc.),²⁹ *bi-warqikum* (Q18:19), *ḥalaqaka* (Q18:37; Q82:7), *narzuquka* (Q20:132) and what is like it.

The people of the oral tradition disagree about His speech *'in ṭallaqakunna* in al-Taḥrīm (Q66:5). Ibn Muğāhid adopts it without assimilation, and that is what most of his companions adopt. But al-Yazīdī wanted 'Abū 'Amr (to allow for) assimilation, and this indicates that he (al-Yazīdī) transmitted it from him ('Abū 'Amr) without assimilation. I myself read it with assimilation and this is analogy on the basis of the heaviness of the feminine plural.

As for what is among the letters that are close to one another (in place of articulation) between two words, he assimilated them for 16 letters, and no others; they are *ḥā'*, *qāf*, *kāf*,

²⁷ The difference between *wa-llāy ya'isa* and *wa-llāy-ya'isa* in modern recitation practice is heard by a placement of a very short pause between the two words.

²⁸ Al-Dānī takes the underlying form of this word to be |allaA'i-y| with *hamzah* followed by *ī*.

²⁹ The *ā* is considered to be *fathah* followed by an 'alif that does not carry a vowel: |miyṭaAqakum|.

ğim, *šin*, *dād*, *sīn*, *dāl*, *tāʾ*, *ḏāl*, *tāʾ*, *rāʾ*, *lām*, *nūn*, *mīm* and *bāʾ*. These are collected in a mnemonic sentence for the letters and it is *sanašuddu ḥuğğataka biḏulli raḏḏi quṭama*. It also does not occur if the first letter has *tanwīn* or it is a geminate letter or it is the second person suffix *-ta* or *-ti* or it is followed by a vowel of a weak stem, for example, *wa-lā naṣīrin* // *laqad* (Q9:116–7), *al-ḥaqqu ka-man* (Q13:19), *li-man ḥalaqta ṭinan* (Q17:61), *lam yuʿta saʿatan* (Q2:247) and what is like it.^(P:22)

So as for the *ḥāʾ*, he assimilates it to the *ʿayn* in His speech in *ʾĀl ʿImrān* (Q3:185) *fa-man zuḥziḥa ʿani n-nēri* (→ *fa-man zuḥziʿʿani n-nēri*) and nothing else. This was transmitted in written form by *ʾAbū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Yazīdī* from his father from him (*ʾAbū ʿAmr*). He does not assimilate it in any other case, for example *fa-lā ḡunāḥa ʿalayhimā* (e.g., Q2:229), *al-masīḥ ʾisāʾ* (e.g., Q3:45), *wa-mā ḏubiḥa ʿalā n-nuṣubi* (Q5:3), *lā yuṣliḥu ʿamala* (Q10:81) and what is like it.

As for the *qāf*, he assimilates it to the *kāf* if there is a vowelised letter before it; for example, *ḥāliqu kulli šayʾin* (→ *ḥālikʾkulli šayʾin*) (e.g., Q6:102), *ḥalaqa kulla šayʾin* (→ *ḥalakʾkulla šayʾin*) (e.g., Q6:101), *ḥalaqa kulla dābbatin* (→ *ḥalakʾkulla dābbatin*) (Q24:45) and what is like it. If there is an unvowelised letter before the *qāf*, it is not assimilated; for example, *wa-fawqa kulli ḏi ʿilmin* (Q12:76) and what is like it.

As for the *kāf*, he also assimilates it to the *qāf* when there is a vowelised letter before it, for example, in the words *nuqaddisu laka qāla* (→ *nuqaddisu laqʾqāla*) (Q2:30), *kāna rabbuka qadīran* (→ *kāna rabbuqʾqadīran*) (Q25:54) and what is like it. If there is no vowel before the *kāf*, it does not assimilate; for example, *ʾilayka qāla* (e.g., Q7:143), *lā yaḥzunka qawluhum* (e.g., Q10:65) and what is like it.

As for the *ğim*, he assimilates it to the *šin* in His speech *ʾaḥraḡa šaṭʾahū* (→ *ʾaḥrašʾ šaṭʾahū*) (Q48:29) and to the *tāʾ* in His speech *ḏi l-maʿarīḡi* // *taʿruḡu* (→ *ḏi l-maʿarītʾtaʿruḡu*) (Q70:3–4) and nothing else.

As for the *šin*, he assimilates it to the *sīn* in His speech *ʾilā ḏi l-ʿarši sabīlan* (→ *ʾilā ḏi l-ʿarsʾsabīlan*) (Q17:44) and nothing else. *Ibn al-Yazīdī* transmitted this in written form from his father from him (*ʾAbū ʿAmr*).

As for the *dād*, he assimilates it to the *šin* in the words of the Almighty *li-baʿḏi šaʿnihim* (→ *li-baʿšʾšānihim*) (Q24:62) and nothing else. *Al-Sūsī* transmits it in written form from *al-Yazīdī* from him (*ʾAbū ʿAmr*).^(P:23)

As for the *sīn*, he assimilates it to the *zāy* in His speech *wa-ʾidā n-nufūsu zuwwiġat* (→ *wa-ʾidā n-nufūz-zuwwiġat*) (Q81:7), and nothing else; and to the *šin* with disagreement among his transmitters in His speech *ar-ra'su šayban* (→ *ar-rāš-šayban*) (Q19:4), and I read it with assimilation.

As for the *dāl*, he assimilates it if there is a vowelised letter before it, with five letters following it.

1. With the *tā'* in His speech *fī l-masāġidi tilka* (→ *fī l-masāġit-tilka*) (Q2:187) and nothing else.
2. With the *dāl* in His speech *al-qalā'ida dālīka* (→ *al-qalā'id-dālīka*) (Q5:97) and nothing else.
3. With the *sīn* in His speech *ʿadada sinīna* (→ *ʿadas-sinīna*) (Q23:112) and nothing else.
4. With the *šin* in His speech *wa-šahida šāhidun* (→ *wa-šahiš-šāhidun*) in Yūsuf (Q12:26) and al-Aḥqāf (Q46:10) and nothing else.
5. With the *šād* in His speech *naḥqīdu šuwāʿa l-maliki* (→ *naḥqīš-šuwāʿa l-maliki*) (Q12:72) and *fī maqʿadi šidqin* (→ *fī maqʿaš-šidqin*) (Q54:55) and nothing else.

If there is no vowel in front of it and it (the *dāl*) carries *kasra* or *ḍamma*, he assimilates it with nine letters.³⁰

1. With the *tā'* in His speech *min aš-šaydi tanāluḥū* (→ *min aš-šayt-tanāluḥū*) (Q5:94), *takādu tamayyazu* (→ *takāt-tamayyazu*) (Q67:8) and nothing else.
2. With the *dāl*, for example, in His speech *min baʿdi dālīka* (→ *min baʿd-dālīka*) (e.g., Q2:52), *al-marḥūdu // dālīka* (→ *al-marḥūd-dālīka*) (Q11:99–100) and what is like it.
3. With the *tā'* in His speech *yurīdu ṭawāba d-dunyā* (→ *yurīt-ṭawāba d-dunyā*) (Q4:134), *li-man nurīdu ṭumma* (→ *nurīt-ṭumma*) (Q17:18) and nothing else.
4. With the *dāl* in His speech *yurīdu ḍulman* (→ *yurīd-ḍulman*) in ʾĀl ʾImrān (Q3:108) and Ġāfir (Q40:31) and *min baʿdi ḍulmiḥī* (→ *min baʿd-ḍulmiḥī*) in al-Māʾidah (Q5:39) and nothing else.
5. With the *zāy* in His speech *turīdu zīnata* (→ *turīz-zīnata*) (Q18:28), *yakādu zaytuḥā* (→ *yakāz-zaytuḥā*) (Q24:35) and nothing else.

³⁰ Long vowels are short vowels followed by ʾalif, wāw or yāʾ with no vowel, so this includes long vowels.

6. With the *sīn* in His speech *al-ʿaṣṣādi // sarābīluhum* (→ *al-ʿaṣṣās-sarābīluhum*) (Q14:49–50), *yakādu sanā barqihī* (→ *yakās-sanā barqihī*) (Q24:43) and nothing else.³¹
7. With the *ṣād* in His speech *fi l-mahdi ṣabiyyan* (→ *fi l-mahṣ-ṣabiyyan*) (Q19:29), *wa-min baʿdi ṣalāti l-ʿiṣāʾi* (→ *wa-min baʿṣ-ṣalāti l-ʿiṣāʾi*) (Q24:58) and nothing else.^(P:24)
8. With the *dād* in His speech *min baʿdi darrāʾi* (→ *min baʿḍ-darrāʾi*) in Yūnus (Q10:21) and Fuṣṣilat (Q41:50) and *min baʿdi duʿfin* (→ *min baʿḍ-duʿfin*) in al-Rūm (Q30:54) and nothing else.
9. With the *ḡīm* in His speech *dāwūdu ḡālūta* (→ *dāwūḡ-ḡālūta*) (Q2:251), *al-ḥuldi ḡazāʾan* (→ *al-ḥulḡ-ḡazāʾan*) (Q41:28) and nothing else. Ibn Muḡāhid does not admit assimilation of the second phrase (i.e., *al-ḥuldi ḡazāʾan*) because the unvowelled letter was not a weak letter (i.e., not *y*, *w* or *ā*). In this and what is like it,³² the grammarians and skilled teachers of recitations apply *ʾihfāʾ* (to be understood as *iḥtilās*, i.e., *al-ḥulḍi ḡazāʾan*, *min baʿḍi ḍālīka*, etc.). This is what has been adopted by me. If the *dāl* follows an unvowelled letter and carries a *fathah*, he did not assimilate it (to any letter) except *tāʾ*, since the two of them (*dāl* and *tāʾ*) have the same place of articulation. This is in His speech: *mā kāda tazīḡu* (→ *mā kāṭ-tazīḡu*) (Q9:117) and *baʿda tawkidihā* (→ *baʿṭ-tawkidihā*) (Q16:91) and nothing else.

As for the *tāʾ*, he assimilates it—when it is not a second person pronoun—to ten letters.

1. With the *tāʾ*, for example, *aṣ-ṣalāta ṭarafayī n-nahēri* (→ *aṣ-ṣalāt-ṭarafayī n-nahēri*) (Q11:114), *aṣ-ṣāliḥāti ṭūbā lahum* (→ *aṣ-ṣāliḥāt-ṭūbā lahum*) (Q13:29) and what is like

³¹ It is a bit unclear if this is correct in al-Dānī's *Taysīr*. There is one more phrase where *dāl* assimilates to *sīn*, namely *kaydu sāḥirin* (→ *kays-sāḥirin*) (Q20:69). In his *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān* he does not mention it either (al-Dānī 2007, 449). In his work dedicated to major assimilation, he does not mention it in the general principles section, but he does mention this phrase explicitly as undergoing assimilation (al-Dānī 2003, 136, 222). Al-Mālaqī (d. 705 AH/1306 CE), in his commentary of the *Taysīr*, calls this omission a mistake and says it should have been included (al-Mālaqī 1990, II:154–55).

³² It is not entirely clear what “what is like it” covers here. Presumably, any word-final *dāl* followed by *u* or *i* which is directly preceded by a consonant (that is not *y*, *w* or *ā*). This is not explicit in the *Taysīr* but seems to be what is intended in the more extensive discussion in the *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 445–46)

it. As for His speech *wa-l-ta'ti ṭā'ifatur* (Q4:102), I read it in both ways (*wa-l-tāṭṭa'ifatur* and *wa-l-tāti ṭā'ifatur*), and Ibn Muğāhid considered it to be without assimilation, because it is defective. Others favour it with assimilation due to the strength of the *kasrah*.

2. With the *dāl*, for example, in *'aḍāba l-'āḥirati ḍālika* (→ *'aḍāba l-'āḥiraḍḍālika*) (Q11:103), *wa-ḍ-ḍāriyāti ḍarwan* (→ *wa-ḍ-ḍāriyāḍḍarwan*) (Q51:1) and what is like it. As for His speech *wa-'āti ḍà l-qurbā* (Q17:26), Ibn Muğāhid considered it to be without assimilation. I read it in both ways (*wa-'āḍḍà l-qurbā* and *wa-'āti ḍà l-qurbā*).
3. With the *ṭā'*, for example, in His speech *bi-l-bayyināti ṭumma* (→ *bi-l-bayyinātṭumma*) (e.g., Q2:92), *an-nubuwwata ṭumma* (→ *an-nubuwwatṭumma*) (Q3:79), *al-mawti ṭumma* (→ *al-mawṭṭumma*) (Q29:57) and what is like it. As for His speech *wa-'ātū z-zakāta ṭumma* (Q2:83) and *ḥummilū t-tawrāta ṭumma* (Q26:5), Ibn Muğāhid did not consider these to assimilate, because of the lightness of the *fathah*. I read it in both ways (*az-zakātṭumma* and *az-zakāta ṭumma*; *at-tawrātṭumma* and *at-tawrāta ṭumma*).
4. With the *ḍā'* in His speech *al-malā'ikatu ḍālimī* (→ *al-malā'ikaḍḍālimī*) in al-Nisā' (Q4:97) and al-Naḥl (16:28) and nothing else.^(P:25)
5. With the *dād* in His speech *wa-l-'ādiyāti ḍabḥan* (→ *wa-l-'ādiyāḍḍabḥan*) (Q100:1) and nothing else.
6. With the *ṣīn* in His speech *'inna zalzalata s-sā'ati ṣay'un* (→ *as-sā'aṣṣay'un*) (Q22:1) and in His speech *bi-'arba'ati ṣuhadā'a* (→ *bi-'arba'aṣṣuhadā'a*) in two locations (Q24:4, 13) and nothing else. 'Abū al-Faṭḥ taught me to read *la-qaḡḡiti ṣay'an fariyyan* (Q19:27) with assimilation (*ḡiṣṣay'an*) because of the strength of the *kasrah*. I also read it without assimilation because of the reduction of the second root letter (from |ḡayi'ti| to ḡi'ti).
7. With the *ḡīm*, for example, in His speech *aṣ-ṣāliḥāti ḡunāḥun* (→ *aṣ-ṣāliḥāḡḡunāḥun*) (Q5:93), *mi'ata ḡaldatin* (→ *mi'aḡḡaldatin*) (Q24:2), *taṣliyatū ḡaḥimin* (→ *taṣliyaḡḡaḥimin*) (Q56:94) and what is like it.
8. With the *sīn*, for example, in His speech *bi-s-sā'ati sa'iran* (→ *bi-s-sā'as-sa'iran*) (Q25:11), *aṣ-ṣāliḥāti sa-nudḥiluhum* (→ *aṣ-ṣāliḥās-sa-nudḥiluhum*) (Q4:57), *as-saḥaratu sāḡidina* (→ *as-saḥaras-sāḡidina*) (Q7:120), and what is like it.

9. With the *ṣād* in His speech *wa-ṣ-ṣāffāti ṣaffan* (→ *wa-ṣ-ṣāffāṣṣaffan*) (Q37:1), *wa-l-malā'ikatu ṣaffan* (→ *wa-l-malā'ikaṣṣaffan*) (Q78:38), *fa-l-muğirāti ṣubḥan* (→ *fa-l-muğiraṣṣubḥan*) (Q100:3) and nothing else.
10. With the *zāy* in His speech *bi-l-'āḥirati zayyannā* (→ *bi-l-'āḥirazṣayyannā*) (Q27:4), *fa-z-zāğirāti zağran* (→ *fa-z-zāğirāzṣağran*) (Q37:2), *'ilā l-ğannati zumaran* (→ *'ilā l-ğannazṣumaran*) (Q39:84) and nothing else.

As for the *dāl*, he assimilates it to the *sīn* in His speech *fa-ttaḥaḍa sabilahū* (→ *fa-ttaḥasṣabilahū*) in two locations (Q18:61, 63), and to the *ṣād* in His speech *mā ttaḥaḍa ṣāhibatan* (→ *mā ttaḥaṣṣāhibatan*) (Q82:3) and nothing else.

As for the *tā'*, he assimilates it to five letters.

1. To the *dāl* in His speech *wa-l-ḥartī dālīka* (→ *wa-l-ḥardṣdālīka*) (Q3:14) and nothing else.
2. To the *tā'* in His speech *ḥaytu tu'marūna* (→ *ḥaytṣtūmarūna*) (Q15:65), *al-ḥadīti ta'ğabūna* (→ *al-ḥadītṣta'ğabūna*) (Q53:59) and nothing else.
3. To the *šin* in His speech *ḥaytu šitum* (→ *ḥayṣṣitum*), *ḥaytu šitumā* (→ *ḥayṣṣitumā*) whenever it occurs, and in His speech *ṭalāṭi šu'abin* (→ *ṭalāṣṣšu'abin*) (Q77:30) and nothing else.
4. To the *sīn*, for example, in His speech *wa-wariṭa sulaymānu* (→ *wa-warisṣsulaymānu*) (Q27:16), *min ḥaytu sakantum* (→ *min ḥaysṣsakantum*) (Q65:6), *bi-hādā l-ḥadīti sanastadriğuhum* (→ *bi-hādā l-ḥadisṣsa-nastadriğuhum*) (Q68:44) and what is like it.^(P:26)
5. To the *dād* in His speech *ḥadītu ḍayfi 'ibrāhima* (→ *ḥadidṣḍayfi*) (Q51:24) and nothing else.

As for the *rā'*, he assimilates it to the *lām* if a vowelised letter occurred before it; for example, *saḥḥara lanā* (→ *saḥḥalṣlanā*) (Q43:13), *li-yağfira laka* (→ *li-yağfilṣlaka*) (Q48:2) and what is like it.

If there is an unvowelled letter (including long vowels) before it, and it is followed by *kasrah* or *ḍammah*, it is also assimilated; for example, *al-maṣīru // lā yukallifu* (→ *al-maṣilṣlā yukallifu*) (Q2:285–6), *kitāba l-fuğğēri la-fi* (→ *kitāba l-fuğğēlṣla-fi*) (Q83:7) and what is like it.

But when the following vowel is *fathah*, it is not assimilated; for example, *wa-l-ḥamīra li-tarkabūhā* (Q16:8) and *wa-'inna l-fuğğāra la-fi* (Q82:14).

The *'imālah*³³ remains when the assimilation takes place, for example, in *'inna kitāba l-'abrēri la-fī* (→ *'inna kitāba l-'abrēl-la-fī*) (Q83:18), *'aḍāba n-nēri // rabbanā* (→ *'aḍāba n-nēr-rabbanā*) (Q3:191-2) and what is like it, because it (the assimilation) is accidental (i.e., the *'idgām* is more superficial or later in derivation than *'imālah*³⁴).

As for the *lām*, he assimilates it to the *rā'* when there was a vowelised letter before it; also, for example, *subula rabbiki* (→ *subur-rabbiki*) (Q16:69), *qaḡḡa'ala rabbuki* (→ *qaḡḡa'ar-rabbuki*) (Q19:24) and what is like it.

If there is an unvowelised letter (including a long vowel) before it and it is followed by *kasrah* or *dammah*, he also assimilates it: *'ilā sabīli rabbika* (→ *sabīr-rabbika*) (Q16:125), *man yaqūlu rabbanā* (→ *yaqūr-rabbanā*) (Q2:200, 201) and what is like it.

But if it is followed by *fathah*, he does not assimilate it; for example, *fa-yaqūla rabbi* (Q63:10), *rasūla rabbiḥim* (Q69:10) and what is like it, except for *qāla rabbi* (e.g., Q2:38), *qāla rabbukum* (e.g., Q26:26) and *qāla rabbunā* (Q20:50), followed by a pronominal suffix or not. In that case he does assimilate it (i.e., *qār-rabb-*), as has been transmitted textually and orally, because of the power of the length of the *'alif*. Analogous to these are *qāla raḡulāni* (→ *qār-raḡulāni*) (Q5:23) and *qāla raḡulun* (→ *qār-raḡulun*) (Q40:28). There is no disagreement among the people of the oral tradition in their assimilation.

As for the *nūn*, if there is a vowelised letter before it, he assimilates it to the *lām* and the *rā'*: for example, in His speech *zuyyina li-n-nāsi* (→ *zuyyil-li-n-nāsi*) (Q3:14), *lan nu'mina laka* (→ *lan nūmil-laka*) (e.g., Q2:55), *'it-ta'aḍḍana rabbuka* (→ *'it-ta'aḍḍar-rabbuka*) (Q7:167), *ḥazā'ina raḥmati rabbī* (→ *ḥazā'ir-raḥmati*) (Q17:100) and what is like it.

If there is an unvowelised letter (including long vowels) before it, it is not assimilated regardless of the vowel that is on it (the *nūn*); for example, *muslimayni laka* (Q2:128), *bi-'iḍni rabbiḥim* (e.g., Q14:1) and what is like it, except for His speech *wa-naḥnu laḥū* (→ *wa-naḥl-laḥū*) (e.g., Q2:133), *mā naḥnu lakumā* (→ *naḥl-lakumā*) (Q10:78) and *naḥnu laka* (→ *naḥl-laka*) (e.g., Q11:54), whenever they occur; he assimilates that because of the invariance of the *ḍammah* of the *nūn*.^(P:27)

³³ On *āri* → *ēri*, see U.13.4.

³⁴ This is similar to the *'imālah* of this type in pause (see U.13.7.).

As for the *mīm*, he gave it *ʾihfā*³⁵ next to a *bāʾ* when there is a vowelised letter before it; for example, *bi-ʾaʿlama bi-š-šākirīna* (→ *bi-ʾaʿlam=bi-š-šākirīna*) (Q6:53), *yaḥkumu bihi* (→ *yaḥkum=bihi*) (Q5:95) and what is like it. The readers call it *ʾidgām* (‘assimilation’), but that is not the case (i.e., not the appropriate term), as change of the first letter (to the next letter) is prevented. Instead, the vowel drops, and the *mīm* undergoes *ʾihfā*. If there is an unvowelised letter (including long vowels) before it, he does not give it *ʾihfā*, for example, in His speech *ʾibrāhīmu banihi* (Q2:132), *aš-šahru l-ḥarāmu bi-š-šahri l-ḥarāmi* (Q2:194) and what is like it.

As for the *bāʾ*, it is assimilated to the *mīm* in His speech *wa-yuʿaddibu man yašāʾu* (→ *wa-yuʿaddim=man*) (e.g., Q2:284) whenever it occurs and nothing else.

ʾAbū ʿAmr [al-Dānī] said: So, these are the abridged principles of assimilation, and it will be possible to derive analogically from it (the treatment of) identical and similar occurrences, if God Almighty wills it. We have collected all the cases where ʾAbū ʿAmr assimilates the letters that carry a vowel and have found that in the tradition of Ibn Muğāhid and his companions they are 1,273 letters, and that according to what we were taught they are 1,305 letters. So, all of what has disagreement in it among the people of the oral tradition are 32 words in total.

U.8.2.1. Subsection: [Option to Do *rawm* or *ʾiṣmām*]

Know that al-Yazīdī related from ʾAbū ʿAmr that he, when he assimilates the first of two letters that are identical or close (in terms of place of articulation), regardless of whether there was an unvowelised letter before it or a vowelised letter, if it carried *ḥafḍ* or *rafʿ*, it would hint towards its vowel, as an indication of it. This hinting at it may be *rawm* or *ʾiṣmām*. *Rawm* is firmer due to what is in it in terms of clarity of the quality of the vowel. However, proper assimilation is blocked because of it (i.e., *ḥāliqū kullī šayʾin* → *ḥāliqū kullī šayʾin*, *ʾilā dī l-ʿarṣi sabīlan* → *ʾilā dī l-ʿarṣi sabīlan*, etc.), whereas (assimilation) is proper with *ʾiṣmām* (i.e., *ḥāliqū kullī šayʾin* → *ḥālikʷ=kullī šayʾin*, etc.). *ʾiṣmām* is prevented for a letter with *ḥafḍ*.^(P:28)

³⁵ *ʾihfā* should be understood as ‘partial assimilation’, i.e., the gesture of the *mīm* and *bāʾ* become a single gesture, not two separate articulations of these consonants. See the discussion of *m + b* conceptualised as *ʾihfā* in al-Dānī’s *Taḥdīd* (al-Dānī 2000, 166–67).

If the first letter carries *naṣb*, its vowel is not hinted towards because of its weakness. Likewise, the vowel of the *mīm* cannot be hinted towards when it encounters its equal (another *mīm*) or a *bāʾ*, nor (towards the vowel of) the *bāʾ* when it encounters its equal (another *bāʾ*) or a *mīm*, regardless of the vowel it carries. That is because hinting towards it is difficult in that case because of the closure of the lips. Success comes from God.

SŪRAT AL-BAQARAH (GENERAL PRINCIPLES)

U.9. The *hā'* *al-kināyah*

Ibn Kaṭīr adds *ṣilah* to the *hā'* *al-kināyah* that is singular and masculine, when it is *ḍammah* and there is an unvowelled letter before it, with *wāw*. When it is *kasrah* (it receives the *ṣilah*) of *yā'*. When he pauses, he drops this *ṣilah* because it is extra. It is the same regardless of whether the unvowelled letter is a regular letter or a weak letter (*wāw*, *yā'* or *'alif*). So, the ones with *ḍammah*, for example, are *'aḳalūhū* (Q2:75), *ṣarawhū* (Q12:20), *fa-ğtabāhū* (Q68:50), *fa-l-yaṣumhū* (Q2:185), *fa-bašširhū* (e.g., Q31:7), *minhū* (e.g., Q2:217), *'anhū* (e.g., Q4:31), and what is like it. The ones with *kasrah* are, for example, *li-'aḥihī* (Q7:142), *[li-]ʾabihī* (e.g. Q6:74), *tu'wihī* (Q70:13), *fihī* (e.g., Q2:2), and *'abawayhī* (e.g., Q12:99), and *'ilayhī* (Q2:28) and what is like it.

This is only the case when the *hā'* does not encounter a (following) unvowelled letter; for example, *ya'lamhu llāhu* (Q2:197; Q3:29), *'anhu s-sū'a* (Q12:24), *fa-'arāhu l-'āyata* (Q79:20), *'ātāhu llāhu* (e.g., Q2:251), *'alayhi llāha* (Q48:10) and what is like it except for His speech *'anhū ttalāhhā* (Q80:10) in the manner of al-Bazzī, as he lengthens the *hā'* with a *wāw* despite the gemination of the *tā'* after it, because the geminate is accidental (i.e., the underlying form, from which the rule is derived, lacks the geminate, *|tatalahhaA|*, and thus does not trigger shortening of *'anhū*).¹ (P:29)

The rest pronounces it with a short vowel (as opposed to long) for the *ḍammah* and the *kasrah* in connected speech in what has preceded (i.e., *'aḳalūhu*, *ṣarawhu*, *fa-ğtabāhu*, *fa-l-yaṣumhu*, *fihī*, *'ilayhi*, etc.). All of them add *ṣilah* of the (*hā'* *al-kināyah*) that has *kasrah* with *yā'* and the (*hā'* *al-kināyah*) that has *ḍammah* with *wāw* when the preceding letter is vowelled whenever it occurs (e.g., Q2:17 *ḥawlahū*, Q2:64 *wa-raḥmatuhū*, Q2:22 *bihī*).² Success comes from God.

¹ See F.2:267. for this feature of al-Bazzī's transmission.

² However, there are some exceptions, see F.2:75., F.7:111., F.18:63., F.20:10., F.24:52., F.25:69., F.27:28., F.39:7., F.99:8 and 9.

U.10. The Lengthening and Shortening³

Know that the *hamzah*, when it is with a letter of length or weakness (i.e., *ā*, *ī* or *ū*) within a single word, whether it is in the middle or at the end, there is no disagreement between them (the readers) in the additional lengthening of the long vowel (i.e., making it overlong).

That is found, for example, in the words of the Almighty *'ulā'ika* (e.g., Q2:5), *šā'a llāhu* (e.g., Q2:20), *al-malā'ikatu* (e.g., Q2:210), *yudf'u* (Q24:35), *hā'umu qra'ū* (Q69:19) and what is like it.

When the *hamzah* is the beginning of a word and a long vowel is the end of another word (the one before it), they disagree on the additional lengthening of the long vowel there.

Ibn Kaṭīr and Qālūn, with some disagreement, 'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī] and others, transmitting from al-Yazīdī, keep the long vowel short (in comparison to the overlong vowel). So, they do not add to it lengthening, except what length it has (intrinsically) which it receives (automatically) in connected speech. These are, for example, the words of the Almighty: *bi-mā 'unzila 'ilayka wa-mā 'unzila min qablika* (e.g., Q2:4), *fī 'āyātina* (e.g., Q6:68), *yā 'ayyuhā n-nāsu* (e.g., Q2:21), *hā 'ulā'i* (e.g., Q2:31),⁴ *qālū 'āmannā* (e.g., Q2:14) and what is like it—they are the shortest in lengthening in the first type (i.e., word-internal lengthening) that is agreed upon. The rest lengthen the long vowel additionally in these cases (i.e., *bi-mā 'unzila* etc.).

The longest articulation of overlength among them, in both types together (i.e., word-internal and in between words), are Warš and Ḥamzah, and after those two (the longest) is 'Āšim, and after him are Ibn 'Āmir and al-Kisā'i, and after them are 'Abū 'Amr in the transmission of the People of Iraq and Qālūn in the transmission of 'Abū Našīṭ, with some disagreement.^(P:30)

³ There are two other contexts in which overlong vowels occur in Qur'ānic recitation, which are not discussed in the *Taysīr*, but al-Dānī does discuss them in his expert manual *Ġāmi' al-bayān*. The first context is when long vowels are followed by a geminate consonant (e.g., *dābbatin*). The second environment is when a long vowel is followed by an unvowelled consonant because this consonant was paused upon (e.g., *ya'qilūn#*) (al-Dānī 2007, 499–503).

⁴ Note that while this word is spelled as a single word (هولاء), it is considered underlyingly to consist of two words.

All of this is done in moderation, without excessiveness (in lengthening). Rather, it is proportionate to their slow and rapid ways of recitation. Success comes from God.

U.10.1. Subsection: [Overlength Typical of Warš]

If there comes a *hamzah* before a long vowel, regardless of whether it is fully articulated or its vowel is thrown onto a preceding vowelless letter⁵ or it is replaced (by a semi-vowel),⁶—for example, in the words *ʾādam* (e.g., Q2:31), *ʾāzara* (Q6:74), *ʾāmana* (Q2:13), *wa-laqaḍ ʾātaynā* (e.g., Q2:87), *man ūtiya* (e.g., Q69:19), *li-ʾilāfi qurayšin* (Q106:1), *li-l-ʾimāni* (e.g., Q3:167), *yastahziʾūna* (e.g., Q6:5), *hā ʾulāʾi ʾālihatan* (Q21:99) and what is like it—the people of the oral tradition among the Egyptian experts adopting it in the transmission of ʾAbū Yaʿqūb [al-ʾAzraq] from Warš apply moderate additional lengthening to the long vowel, according to the slowest pace of recitation (i.e., *ʾādam*, *ʾāzara*, *ʾāmana*, *wa-laqaḍ ʾātaynā*, *man ūtiya*, *li-ʾilāfi qurayšin*, *li-l-ʾimāni*, *yastahziʾūna*, *hā ʾulāʾi yālihatan*).

They make an exception from that in the word *ʾisrāʾil* (i.e., not *ʾisrâʾil*) (e.g., Q2:40) whenever it occurs. They do not want to lengthen the *yāʾ* in it.

They agree on the removing of the additional lengthening when there was an unvoiced letter before the *hamzah* and that vowelless letter was not a letter of length or weakness (*ʾalif*, *wāw*, *yāʾ*) (when it is inside a single word); for example, *masʾūlan* (e.g., Q17:34), *maḍʾūman* (e.g., Q7:18), *al-qurʾān* (e.g., Q2:185), *aḍ-ḍamʾān* (Q24:39) and what is like that.

Likewise (they agreed on removing the additional lengthening) when the *hamzah* is prosthetic⁷ due to starting (after a pause), as in *uʾtumina* (→ #ʾūtumina) (Q2:283), *iʾti bi-qurʾānin* (→ #ʾiti) (Q10:15), *iʾḍan lī* (→ #ʾiḍan) (Q9:49), and what is like it.

The rest does not add anything to the length of the long vowels in what has preceded. Success comes from God.

⁵ This refers to Warš's loss of post-consonantal *hamzah* on word boundaries described in U.11.4.

⁶ This refers to Warš's weakening of the *hamzah* in certain contexts, see section U.11.3.

⁷ Pretzl has *مجيئة* but it should be *muḡṭalibah* (al-Dānī 2008a, 21).

U.11. The *hamzah*

U.11.1. The Two Consecutive *hamzahs* within a Word

Know that when (two *hamzahs* within a word) both carry *fathah*—for example, in 'a-'*andartahum*(ū) (Q2:6; Q36:10), 'a-'*antum*(ū) 'a'*lamu* (Q2:140), 'a-'*asğudu* (Q17:61) and what is like it—the two of the holy cities (Nāfi' and Ibn Kaṭīr), 'Abū 'Amr and Hišām soften the second (*hamzah*) of the two (i.e., 'a-*andartahum*(ū), etc.). Warš (according to other paths from him) replaces it with an 'alif ('*andartahum*, etc.), but the regular outcome (*qiyās*) would be that it is pronounced in between (i.e., 'a-*andarathum*(ū)). Ibn Kaṭīr does not insert an 'alif before it (the weakened *hamzah*), but Qālūn, Hišām and 'Abū 'Amr do insert one (i.e., 'ā-*andartahum* etc.). The rest fully pronounce the two *hamzahs*.^(P:31)

When the (two *hamzahs*) differ (in vocalisation) by a *fathah* and a *kasrah*, as for example in the words 'a-'*idā kunnā* (e.g., Q13:5), 'a-'*ilāhun ma'a llāhi* (Q27:60–64), 'a-'*inna lanā* (Q26:41) and what is like it, the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr soften the second (*hamzah*) (i.e., 'a-*idā*). Qālūn and 'Abū 'Amr insert an 'alif before it (the second *hamzah*) (i.e., 'ā-*idā kunnā*, etc.).

The rest pronounces the two *hamzahs* fully. Hišām, in what I recited to 'Abū al-Faṭḥ, (always) inserts an 'alif between the two (*hamzahs*), and in what I recited to 'Abū al-Ḥasan [Ibn Ġalbūn],⁸ he inserts it in seven places (only):

1. In al-A'rāf 'ā-'*innakum* (Q7:81)
2. and 'ā-'*inna lanā la-'ağran* (Q7:113).
3. In Maryam 'ā-'*idā mā muttu* (Q19:66).
4. In al-Šu'arā' 'ā-'*inna lanā la-'ağran* (Q26:41).
5. In al-Šāffāt 'ā-'*innaka* (Q37:52)
6. and 'ā-'*ifkan* (Q37:87).
7. In Fuṣṣilat 'ā-'*innakum* (Q41:9), and he softens the second (*hamzah*) here only.

⁸ This 'isnād does not occur in the *Taysir's* 'isnād section nor in Ġāmi' al-bayān, which only has a *riwāyah* 'isnād through 'Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Ġalbūn (al-Dānī 2007, 339). The list of seven words does agree with what 'Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Ġalbūn transmits for Hišām in his *Taḍkirah* (Ibn Ġalbūn 1991, 112).

When the (two *hamzahs*) differ (in vocalisation) by a *fathāh* and a *ḍammah*—and this occurs in (only) three places: (1) in 'Āl 'Imrān *qul 'a-ʾunabbiʾukum* (Q3:15), (2) in Ṣād *'a-ʾunzila 'alayhi* (Q38:8) and (3) in al-Qamar *'a-ʾulqiya ḍ-ḍikru* (Q54:25)—the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr soften the second (*hamzah*) (*'a-unabbiʾukum(ū)*, etc.).

Qālūn inserts an *'alif* between the two (*'ā-unabbiʾukum*).

Hišām, in what I recited to 'Abū al-Ḥasan [Ibn Ġalbūn], pronounces both *hamzahs* fully without an *'alif* between them in 'Āl 'Imrān (i.e., *'a-ʾunabbiʾukum*), softens the second (*hamzah*) and inserts an *'alif* before it in the remaining two (i.e., *'ā-unzila*, *'ā-ulqiya*).⁹

The rest pronounce the two *hamzahs* fully for all of these (*'a-ʾunabbiʾukum*, *'a-ʾunzila 'alayhi*, *'a-ʾulqiya ḍ-ḍikru*).

Hišām, in what I recited to 'Abū al-Fath, is like that (in the full pronunciation of the two *hamzahs*), and he inserts an *'alif* between them (i.e., *'ā-unabbiʾukum*, *'ā-unzila*, *'ā-ulqiya*). Success comes from God. ^(P:32)

U.11.2. The Two *hamzahs* from Two Words

Know that when (two *hamzahs* of two different words) correspond in carrying a *kasrah*—for example, in *hā 'ulā'i 'in kuntum* (Q2:31), *min an-nisā'i 'illā* (Q4:22, 24) and what is like it—Qunbul and Warš pronounce the second as if it were a vowelless *yā'* (i.e., *not* identical to it but in between *yā'* and *hamzah*: *hā 'ulā'i .in kuntum*, *min an-nisā'i .illā*).

[Ḥalaf b. 'Ibrāhīm] Ibn Ḥāqān taught me to recite it for Warš by making this second *hamzah* a *yā'* carrying a *kasrah* in al-Baqarah in the words of the Almighty *hā 'ulā'i yin kuntum* (Q2:31) and in al-Nūr *'alā l-biḡā'i yin aradna* (Q24:33) only. That (practice) is well-known for Warš in the oral transmission without basis in textual transmission.

Qālūn and al-Bazzī make the first (of the two *hamzahs*) like a *yā'* followed by a *kasrah* (i.e., *not* identical to it but in between *yā'* and *hamzah*: *hā'ulā.i 'in kuntum*, *min an-nisā.i 'illā*), and 'Abū 'Amr drops it (the first *kasrah* with the *hamzah*) (i.e., *hā'ulā 'in kuntum*, *min an-nisā 'illā*). The rest fully pronounce both *hamzahs*.

⁹ This *'isnād* does not occur in the *Taysīr*'s *'isnād* section nor does it occur in *Ġāmi' al-bayān*, which only has a *riwāyah* *'isnād* through 'Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Ġalbūn (al-Dānī 2007, 339), but it does agree with what 'Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Ġalbūn transmits for Hišām in his *Taḍkirah* (Ibn Ġalbūn 1991, 114).

If (two *hamzahs* in two different words) correspond in carrying a *fathah*—for example, in *ġā'a 'aḡaluhum* (e.g., Q7:34), *šā'a 'anšarahū* (Q80:22) and what is like it—Warš and Qunbul make the second (*hamzah*) like a long vowel (i.e., not *exactly* like length, but in between: *ġā'a .aḡaluhum*, *šā'a .anšarahū*). Qālūn, al-Bazzī and 'Abū 'Amr drop the first (*hamzah*) (i.e., *ġā 'aḡaluhum*, *šā 'anšarahū*). The rest fully pronounce both *hamzahs*.

If (two *hamzahs* in two different words) correspond in carrying a *ḍammah*—(this occurs) in one location, (namely) al-'Aḥqāf (Q46:32) in the words of the Almighty 'awliyā'u 'ulā'ika (Q46:32) and nowhere else—Warš and Qunbul make the second (*hamzah*) to be like a *wāw* not carrying a vowel (i.e., 'awliyā'u .ulā'ika). Qālūn and al-Bazzī make the first (*hamzah*) like a *wāw* carrying a *ḍammah* (i.e., 'awliyā.u 'ulā'ika) and 'Abū 'Amr drops it (i.e., 'awliyā 'ulā'ika). The rest fully pronounce both *hamzahs*.

'Abū 'Amr [al-Dānī] said: When the first *hamzah* of the two corresponding ones is softened or it is dropped, the 'alif that is before it (will still be) made overlong, as if it were in the state of being pronounced fully, relying on it (i.e., its virtual presence). It is also permissible to shorten the 'alif because of the absence of the *hamzah* of a word, but the first (option) is preferable.

So when (the two *hamzahs*) differ in vocalisation, whatever the state (of the vowel carried by either *hamzah*)—as, for example, in His speech *as-sufahā'u 'a-lā* (Q2:13), *min al-mā'i 'aw mimmā* (Q7:50), *šuhadā'a 'id ḥaḍara* (Q2:133), *man yašā'u 'ilā širāṭin mustaqīmīn* (e.g., Q2:142), *ġā'a 'ummatan* (Q23:44) and what is like it—the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr soften the second *hamzah* (i.e., *as-sufahā'u wa-lā* etc.). The rest pronounce both of them fully.^(P:32)

As for the softening of one of the two *hamzahs* in this category, it only takes place in connected speech and nowhere else (i.e., not in pause), because contact of (the two words) is required for it.

The rule of the softening of the *hamzah* in both categories is that (the sound) is in between the *hamzah* and the letter that its vowel is derived from (i.e., *u* from *wāw*, *i* from *yā'* and *a* from 'alif), so long as the *hamzah* does not carry a *fathah* and there is a *kasrah* or a *ḍammah* before it. In that situation (i.e., when a *kasrah* or a *ḍammah* is followed by a *hamzah* carrying a *fathah*) (the *hamzah*) is replaced.

In the case of *kasrah* (before it), it is replaced with *yā'* (e.g., *an-nisā'i yaw*), in the case of *ḍammah* (before it), it is replaced with *wāw* (e.g., *as-sufahā'u wa-lā*) and both (the *yā'* and *wāw*) carry *fathah*.

As for a (*hamzah*) that carries a *kasrah* and there is *ḍammah* before it, it is softened in two ways: (1) the (*hamzah*) carrying the *kasrah* is replaced with *wāw* (i.e., *yašā'u wilā*) or (2) the sound is made in between the *hamzah* and the *yā'* for its vowel (i.e., *yašā'u .ilā*). The first is the manner of the readers and it is preferred. The second is the manner of the grammarians and it is stronger in terms of regularity. Success comes from God.

U.11.3. The Single *hamzah*

Know that Warš softens the single *hamzah*, whether it is unvowelled or vowelled, when it is in the place of the first root letter. As for the unvowelled (*hamzah*), examples are His speech *yāḥuḍu* (Q9:104; Q18:79), *yākulu* (e.g., Q10:24), *yālamūna* (Q4:104), *liqā'anāti* (← *liqā'anā 'ti*) (Q10:15), *yūminu* (e.g., Q2:232), *al-mūminūna* (e.g., Q2:285), *yūṭirūna* (Q59:9), *yūtūna* (e.g., Q4:53), *al-mūtafikātī* (Q9:70; Q69:9), *al-mūtafikata* (Q53:53), *allaḍitumina* (← *allādī 'tumina*) (Q2:283), *al-malikūtūnī* (← *al-maliku 'tūnī*) (Q12:50, 54) and what is like it.

As for the vowelled (*hamzah*), examples are His speech *yuwaddihī 'ilayka* (← *yu'addihī*) (Q3:75), *muwaḡḡalan* (← *mu'aḡḡalan*) (Q3:145), *muwallafati* (← *mu'allafati*) (Q9:60), *muwaddīnun* (← *mu'addīnun*) (Q7:44; Q12:70), *yuwahḥiruhum* (← *yu'aḥḥiruhum*) (e.g., Q14:42), *lā tuwāḥiḍnā* (*tu'āḥiḍnā*) (Q2:286) and what is like it.^(P:34)

Excepted from the unvowelled ones are *wa-tu'wī 'ilayka* (Q33:51), *'allatī tu'wihī* (Q70:13), and all other derivations of the verb *'iwā'* 'to seek refuge', for example, *al-ma'wā* (Q32:19), *ma'wāḥum* (e.g., Q2:151), *ma'wākum* (e.g., Q29:25), *fa-ḡwū 'ila l-kahfi* (Q18:16) and what is like it.

From the vowelled ones (are excepted) *wa-lā ya'ūduhū* (Q2:255), *ta'uzzuhum* (Q19:83)¹⁰ and also *ma'āban* (Q78:22, 39), *ma'ābin* (e.g., Q13:29), *ma'āribu* (Q20:18), *wa-mā ta'aḥḥara* (e.g., Q2:203), *fa'aḍḍana* (Q7:44) and what is like it, (that is) whenever the spelling¹¹ is with an '*alif*', apply the *hamzah* to all of them.

¹⁰ Pretzl has *ta'udḍuhum*. This word does not occur in the Qur'ān (al-Dānī 2008a, 22).

¹¹ Pretzl has *ṣawtuḥā* 'its sound' here. This should be *ṣuratuḥā* 'its shape' (al-Dānī 2008a, 22).

The rest pronounced the *hamzah* fully in all of these. 'Abū 'Amr,¹² Ḥamzah and Hišām¹³ have specific manners which I will mention later if God Almighty wishes it.

U.11.3.1. Subsection

Warš also softens the *hamzah* of *bīsa* (← *bi'sa*) (e.g., Q2:126), *bīsa-mā* (← *bi'sa-mā*) (e.g., Q2:90), *al-bīr* (← *al-bi'r*),¹⁴ *aḍ-ḍīb* (*aḍ-ḍi'b*) (e.g., Q12:13) and *liyallā* (← *li-'allā*) (Q2:150) in all of the Qur'ān. Al-Kisā'i follows him with *aḍ-ḍīb* only, so he removes its *hamzah*. The rest pronounce the *hamzah* fully in all of these whenever it occurs. Success comes from God.

U.11.4. The Transposition of the Vowel of the *hamzah* to the Letter before It

Know that Warš casts the vowel of the following *hamzah* onto the unvowelled letter before it, so that it becomes vowelised with its (the *hamzah*'s) vowel and it (the *hamzah*) is dropped from pronunciation. That is the case whenever the unvowelled letter is not a long vowel (*ḥarf madd wa-līn*, i.e., *ā*, *ī*, *ū*), it occurs at the end of a word and the *hamzah* is the beginning of a following word. This preceding unvowelled letter comes in three kinds:

The first kind is (the *n* of) *tanwīn*, as for example in His speech *min nabī'in illā* (← *min nabī'in 'illā*) (Q7:94; Q43:7), *min šay'in id kānū* (← *min šay'in 'id kānū*) (Q46:26), *kufu'an aḥadun* (← *kufu'an 'aḥadun*) (Q112:4), *mubīnun 'anu 'budū llāha* (← *mubīnun // 'anu 'budū llāha*) (Q71:3–4) and what is like it.

The second kind is (the *l* of) the definite article, for example *al-arḍ* (← *al-'arḍ*) (e.g., Q2:11), *al-āḥirah* (← *al-'āḥirah*) (e.g., Q2:4), *al-āzifah* (← *al-'āzifah*) (Q40:18; Q53:57), *al-ūlā* (← *al-'ūlā*) (e.g., Q20:21), *al-āna* (← *al-'āna*) (e.g., Q2:71), *wa-l-uḍna* (← *wa-l-'uḍna*) (Q5:45) and what is like it. This is the case even though the *hamzah* is connected to the previous word in writing; (the definite article) is treated by the readers as a separate word.^(P:35)

¹² U.11.5.

¹³ U.11.6.

¹⁴ As such in the Pretzl edition and in several manuscripts. The word, however, is only attested in the indefinite *wa-bi'rin* (Q22:45), cf. also fn. 51 and fn. 60 where al-Dānī seemingly made the same mistake. This seems to suggest that al-Dānī drew upon the same (mistaken) written list of example words which caused him to repeat this mistake three times. Al-Ḍāmin has corrected this, but as this mistake appears original to al-Dānī I leave it as is (al-Dānī 2008a, 155).

The third kind are all the remaining letters (that do not carry a vowel); for example, the words *maṇāmana* (← *man ʾāmana*) (e.g., Q2:62), *miṇistabraqin* (← *min ʾistabraqin*) (Q55:54), *wa-ḍkur ismāʿila* (← *wa-ḍkur ʾismāʿila*) (Q38:48), *ʾalif lām mīm a-ḥasiba n-nāsu* (← *ʾalif lām mīm // ʾa-ḥasiba n-nāsu*) (Q29:1–2), *qālat ʾulāhum* (← *qālat ʾulāhum*) (Q7:39), *qālat uḥrāhum* (← *qālat ʾuḥrāhum*) (Q7:38), *ḥalaw ilā* (← *ḥalaw ʾilā*) (Q2:14), *taʾālaw atlu* (← *taʾālaw ʾatlu*) (Q6:151), *nabaʾa bnay ādama* (← *ibnay ʾādama*) (Q5:27), *ḍawātay uklin* (← *ḍawātay ʾuklin*) (Q34:16) and what is like it.

The companions of ʾAbū Yaʿqūb [al-ʾAzraq], transmitting from Warṣ, make an exception from this (rule) in one word in al-Ḥāqqah, and it is His speech *kitābiyah // ʾinnī ḍanantu* (Q69:19–20). They leave the *hāʾ* unvowelled and fully pronounce the *hamzah* after it as if intending to cut off (the sentence) and restart (there). I have recited it like this (i.e., without *naql*) to the Egyptian experts and this is what I adopt.

The other readers read with full pronunciation of the *hamzah* in all that preceded with the clear pronunciation of the vowelless letters before it.

They (the other readers) disagree on (applying the transposition) to the words *ʾāl-ʾāna wa-qad kuntum* (Q10:51) and *ʾāl-ʾāna wa-qad ʾaṣayta* (Q10:91) in Yūnus and in the word *ʾādani l-ʾulā/ā/ē* (Q53:50) in al-Naḡm. (The discussion) of the disagreement on that will come in its place (in the specific variants section)¹⁵ if God Almighty wills it. Success comes from God.

U.11.5. The Manner of ʾAbū ʿAmr in the Removal of the *hamzah*

Know that ʾAbū ʿAmr, when he recites in prayer, or recites at a fast pace, or recites with assimilation, does not apply the *hamzah* for each unvowelled *hamzah*, whether it is the first, the second or the third root letter. For example the words *yūminūna* (← *yuʾminūna*) (e.g., Q2:3), *yūlūna* (← *yuʾlūna*) (Q2:226), *al-mūtafikātu* (← *al-muʾtafikātu*) (Q69:9), *bīsa* (← *biʾsa*) (e.g., Q2:126), *bīsamā* (← *biʾsamā*) (e.g., Q2:90), *aḍ-ḍibu* (← *aḍ-ḍiʾbu*) (e.g., Q12:13), *al-bīr* (← *al-biʾr*),¹⁶ *ar-rūyā* (← *ar-ruʾyā*) (e.g., Q17:60), *rūyāka* (← *ruʾyāka*) (Q12:5), *ka-dābi* (← *ka-*

¹⁵ F.10:51., F.53:50.

¹⁶ As such in the Pretzl edition and in several manuscripts. The word, however, is only attested in the indefinite *wa-biʾrin* (Q22:45), cf. also fn. 49 and fn. 60 where al-Dānī seemingly made the same mistake.

da'bi) (e.g., Q3:11), *ḡita* (← *ḡi'ta*) (e.g., Q2:71), *ḡitum* (← *ḡi'tum*) (Q10:81; Q19:89), *ṣitum* (← *ṣi'tum*) (Q2:58), *šinā* (← *ši'nā*) (Q76:28), *fa-ddārātum* (Q2:72), *iṭmānantum* (← *iṭma'nantum*) (Q4:103) and what is like it. Excepted are cases where (the *hamzah*) is unvowelled to mark the *ḡazm*, for example, *'aw nansa'hā* (Q2:106), *tasu'hum* (Q3:120; Q9:50), *'in naša'* (Q26:4; Q34:9; Q36:43), *yuhayyi' lakum* (Q18:16) and what is like it. This occurs in 19 places.¹⁷

(Another excepted case is) when it marks the stem formation (of the imperative), for example, *'anbi'hum* (Q2:33), *iqra'* (Q17:14; Q96:1, 3), *'arḡi'hu* (Q7:111; Q26:36), *hayyi'* (Q18:10) and what is like it. This occurs in 11 places.¹⁸

(A third excepted case is) when the removal of the *hamz* would be more burdensome than pronouncing it; that is in the words of the Almighty *tu'wī* (Q33:51) and *tu'wīhi* (Q70:13).

(A fourth excepted case is) when ambiguity would occur if it was not given a *hamzah*; that is the case in the word *wa-ri'yan* (Q19:74).¹⁹

(A fifth excepted case is) when it would turn a linguistic variant into another linguistic variant and that is (the case) in the word *mu'ṣadah* (Q90:20; Q104:8).²⁰ Ibn Muḡāhid prefers the clear pronunciation of the *hamz* in all of these because of these meanings, and I have recited like this [and I adopt it].²¹ (P:36)

When the *hamzah* carries a vowel—for example, in His speech *yu'allifu* (Q24:43), *mu'addinun* (Q7:44; Q12:70), *yu'ahḥiru* and what is like it—there is no disagreement in transmission from him ('Abū 'Amr) about the full pronunciation of the *hamzah* in any of these. Success comes from God.

¹⁷ Besides those already mentioned there is *tasu'kum* (Q5:101), *yunabba'* (Q53:36) and *yaša'* (Q4:133; twice in Q6:39; Q6:133; Q14:19; twice in Q17:54; Q35:16; Q42:24, 33).

¹⁸ Besides those already mentioned, *nabbi'nā* (Q12:36), *nabbi'* (Q15:49) and *nabbi'hum* (Q15:51; Q54:28).

¹⁹ If one drops the *hamzah* and pronounces it as *riyy*, it will become homophonous with *riyy*, the verbal noun of *rawiya* 'to quench one's thirst'. This is a non-canonical reading which Ibn 'Abbās is said to have commented upon (Saeed 2023, 21).

²⁰ The verb is thought to occur in two lexical forms, either as *'awṣada* (√w-ṣ-d) or as *'āṣada* (√'ṣ-d). Usually *'ibdāl al-hamz* does not cause a verb to shift to another root. But because this verb has two linguistic variants, dropping the *hamz* would change the root.

²¹ *Wa-bihī 'āḥuḍu* is absent in the Pretzl edition (al-Dānī 2008a, 23).

U.11.6. The Manner of Ḥamzah and Hišām in Pausing on the *hamzah*

Know that Ḥamzah and Hišām, when they pause on an unvowelled or vowelled *hamzah* soften it whenever it occurs at the end of a word. In connected speech they pronounce it fully.

When they soften (a *hamzah*) with *ḍammah* before it, they replaced it with a *wāw*, whether it is vowelled or unvowelled; for example, in the word *lūlū#* (Ḥamzah)²²/*lu'lū#* (Hišām) (← *lu'lu'u/in*) (Q22:23; Q35:33; Q52:24), *'in imrū#* (← *'in imru'un*) (Q4:176) and what is like it. There is no instance in the Qur'ān where it is unvowelled.^(P:37)

When they soften (a *hamzah*) with *kasrah* before it, they replace it in both cases (followed by a vowel or not) with a *yā'*; for example, in the words of the Almighty *wa-hayyi# lanā* (← *wa-hayyi' lanā*) (Q18:10), *nabbī# 'ibādī* (← *nabbī' 'ibādī*) (Q15:49), *tubawwī#* (← *tubawwi'u*) (Q3:121), *min šāṭī#* (← *min šāṭī'i*) (Q28:30) and what is like it.

When they soften (a *hamzah*) with *fathah* before it, they replaced it in both cases (followed by a vowel or not) with an *'alif*; for example, in the words of the Almighty *'in yašā#* (← *'in yaša'*) (e.g., Q4:133), *ḍarā#* (← *ḍara'a*) (Q6:136; Q16:13), *badā#* (← *bada'a*) (e.g., Q12:76), *yustahzā#* (← *yustahza'u*) (Q4:140), *al-malā#* (← *al-mala'u*) (e.g., Q7:60) and what is like it.

It is not allowed to add an ultrashort vowel (*rawm*) or labialisation (*'išmām*) to the letter which replaces the *hamzah* because it is a pure unvowelled letter.

If the *hamzah* is preceded by an unvowelled letter and they soften the *hamzah*, they place (the *hamzah*'s) vowel on the preceding letter²³ and then drop (the *hamzah*), if that is a root letter other than an *'alif*; for example, in the words of the Almighty *al-mar#* (← *al-mar'v*) (e.g., Q2:102), *dif#* (← *dif'un*) (Q16:6), *al-ḥab#* (← *al-ḥab'a*) (Q27:250), *šay#* (← *šay'u/in*) (e.g., Q2:20), *saw#* (← *saw'in*) (e.g., Q19:28), *'an sū#* (← *sū'in*) (Q4:149), *sī#* (← *sī'a*) (Q11:77; Q29:33), *ḡī#* (← *ḡī'a*) (Q39:69; Q89:23), *al-musī#* (← *al-musī'u*) (Q40:58), *yuḍī#* (← *yuḍī'u*) (Q24:35) and what is like it.

If the unvowelled letter is a long vowel as an extra letter and it is a *yā'* or *wāw*, the *hamzah* is replaced by a *yā'* (when before it is a) *yā'*, and *wāw* (when before it is a) *wāw*, and

²² For the loss of the first *hamzah* in Ḥamzah's reading, see U.11.6.1. below.

²³ This transferred vowel in pause is, of course, not pronounced unless *rawm* or *'išmām* is applied.

it assimilated to what is before it in both cases, for example, in His speech *bariyy#* (← *bari'un*) (e.g., Q6:19), *an-nasiyy#* (← *an-nasi'u*) (Q9:37), *talātata quruww#* (← *qurū'in*) (Q2:228) and what is like it.

Rawm and *'iṣmām* are permitted with the letter that is vowelised with the vowel of the (now dropped) *hamzah* or the letter that replaced it (the *hamzah*)—except the *'alif*—if they carry a *ḍammah*. *Rawm* (but not *'iṣmām*) is allowed if they carry a *kasrah*. Only dropping the vowel (not *rawm* or *'iṣmām*) is allowed if it carries a *fathah* (in connected speech). This is just like with the *hamzah* (if it were retained).

If the unvowelised letter is an *'alif*—regardless of whether (the *'alif*) is replacing a root letter (e.g., *ḡā'a*) or is an extra letter (e.g., *as-samā'*)—the *hamzah* after it is replaced with an *'alif* irrespective of the vowel it was carrying. Then, one of the two *'alifs* is elided due to the presence of two (subsequent) vowelless letters (i.e., $|as-samaA'| = as-samā' \rightarrow |as-samaAA| \rightarrow |as-samaA| = as-samā$).

If you wish, you may add to the length and strengthen it (i.e., make it overlong),²⁴ so as to place a separation between the two (*'alifs*) ($|samaAA| \rightarrow |samaAaA| = samâ$) without dropping (one of the two *'alifs*).

That is more proper, and it is reported in texts transmitting from Ḥamzah in the transmission path of Ḥalaf and others. That is like the words of the Almighty *wa-s-samâ#* (← *wa-s-samā'v*) (e.g., Q2:22), *'idā ḡâ#* (← *'idā ḡā'a*) (e.g., Q4:83), *min mâ#* (← *min mā'in*) (e.g., Q2:164), *'alā sawâ#* (← *'alā sawā'in*) (Q8:58), *minhu l-mâ#* (← *minhu l-mā'u*) (Q2:74), *as-sufahâ#* (← *as-sufahā'v*) (e.g., Q2:13), *'abnâ#* (← *'abnā'v*) (e.g., Q24:31), *ṣuhadâ#* (← *ṣuhadā'v*) (e.g., Q2:133) and what is like it wherever it occurs. Success comes from God. (P:38)

U.11.6.1. Subsection: [Ḥamzah's Dropping of *hamzah* inside the Word in Pause]

Ḥamzah is unique in the softening of the *hamzah* that is in the middle of a word. There are rules for that which I will now explain, if God wills it.

Know that the *hamzah*, when it is in the middle of a word and is unvowelised, is replaced with a pure letter (i.e., not *bayna bayn*), in the case of softening, as has preceded. That is the case, for example, in the words of the Almighty *al-mūminūn#* (← *al-mu'minūna*) (Q2:285), *yūfakūn#* (← *al-yu'fakūna*) (Q5:75), *ar-rūyā#* (← *ar-ru'yā*) (e.g., Q17:16), *tasūkum#* (←

²⁴ See U.10. on the lengthening of long vowels before *hamzah*.

tasu'kum) (Q5:101), *yākulūn#* (← *ya'kulūna*) (Q2:174), *ka-dāb#* (← *ka-da'bi*) (e.g., Q3:11), *aḍ-ḍīb#* (← *aḍ-ḍi'bu*) (e.g., Q12:13), *al-bīr#* (← *al-bi'ru*),²⁵ *bīs* (← *bi'sa*) (e.g., Q2:126) and what is like it. It is likewise for *allaḍitumin#* (← *allaḍi 'tumina*) (Q2:283), *liqā'anāt#* (← *liqā'anā 'ti*) (Q10:15), *fīr'awnūtūnī#* (← *fīr'awnu 'tūnī*) (Q10:79) and what is like it.

Our teachers disagreed on the assimilation of the replacing letter for the *hamzah* and (alternatively) its clear pronunciation in the words *wa-riyyā/wa-riyā#* (← *wa-ri'yan*) (Q19:74), *tuwwī/tūwī#* (← *tu'wī*) (Q33:51) and *tuwwīh/tūwīh#* (← *tu'wīhi*) (Q70:13). So, there are those who assimilate (*wa-riyyā#*, *wa-tuwwī#*, *tuwwīh#*), following what is written (وريا وتوى تويه), and those who do not assimilate (*wa-riyā#*, *wa-tūwī#*, *tūwīh#*), because the replacement is (merely) accidental. Both options are acceptable.

The people of the oral tradition also disagree on the changing of the vowel (due to vowel harmony) of the *hā'* with the replacement of the *hamzah* with a *yā'* before it in the words *'anbihum/him#* (← *'anbi'hum*) (Q2:33) and *nabbihum/him#* (← *nabbi'hum*) (Q54:28). So, some of them favour giving it a *kasrah*, because of the *yā'*, and others retain the *ḍammah* on the *hā'* because the *yā'* is accidental. They are both correct.

When the *hamzah* carries a vowel and it is in the middle of a word, then what is before it is either unvowelled or vowelled. If it is unvowelled and it is a root letter, then when you soften it (the *hamzah*), you transfer its vowel onto that unvowelled letter, giving it the vowel (of the *hamzah*), as long as it is not an *'alif*. That is, for example, in the words *šayā#* (← *šay'an*) (e.g., Q2:48), *ḥiṭā#* (← *ḥiṭ'an*) (Q17:31), *al-mašamah#* (← *al-maš'amati*) (Q56:9; Q90:19), *ka-hayah#* (← *ka-hay'ati*) (Q3:49; Q5:110), *taḡarūn#* (← *taḡ'arūna*) (Q16:53), *yasalūn#* (← *yas'alūna*) (e.g., Q2:273), *wa-sal#* (← *wa-s'al*) (Q12:82; Q43:45), *al-qurān#* (← *al-qur'ān*) (e.g., Q2:185), *maḍūmā#* (← *maḍ'ūman*) (Q7:18), *masūlā#* (← *mas'ūlan*) (e.g., Q17:34), *siyat#* (← *sī'at*) (Q67:27), *mawilā#* (← *maw'ilan*) (Q18:58), *al-mawūdah#* (← *maw'ūdatu*) (Q81:8) and what is like it.^(P:39)

If it is an extra letter (i.e., a letter of the stem formation, not of the root), then you replace (the *hamzah* with a respective glide) and assimilate it (to the previous glide), when it is a *yā'* or a *wāw*, for example, in the words *hanī'an mariyyā#* (← *mari'an*) (Q4:4), *bariyyā#* (← *bari'an*) (Q4:112), *bariyyūn#* (← *bari'ūna*) (Q10:41), *ḥaṭiyyah#* (← *ḥaṭi'atan*) (Q4:112),

²⁵ Only shows up in the indefinite in the Qur'ān (Q22:45). This same mistake is found twice earlier in the text, see fn. 49 and fn. 51.

ḥaṭṭiyātikum# (← *ḥaṭṭi'ātikum*) (Q7:161) and what is like it. There is no such case with the *wāw* in the Qur'ān (word-internally).

If the unvowelled letter is an *'alif*—regardless of whether it is a replacement (of a root letter) or is an extra letter—you make the *hamzah* after it in between (the *hamzah* and a glide). If you want you can make the *'alif* overlong before it, or if you want you can keep it short (i.e., regular long vowel length). Making it overlong is more regular. That is, for example, in the words *nīsā.ukum#* (← *nīsā'ukum*) (Q2:223), *'abnā.ukum#* (← *'abnā'ukum*) (Q4:11; Q9:24), *mā.ā#* (← *mā'an*) (e.g., Q2:22), *ḡuṭā.ā#* (← *ḡuṭā'an*) (Q23:41; Q87:5), *sawā.ā#* (← *sawā'an*) (e.g., Q3:113), *wa-'/ābā.ukum#* (← *wa-'ābā'ukum*) (e.g., Q4:11), *hā.um#* (← *hā'um*) (Q69:19), *min 'ābā.ihim#*²⁶ (← *min 'ābā'ihim*) (Q6:87), *malā.ikatuh* (← *malā'ikatuhū*) (Q33:43) and what is like it.

If before the *hamzah* there is a letter that carries a vowel, and (the *hamzah*) carries a *fathah* and the letter before it carries a *kasrah* or a *ḍammah*, when you soften it in pause, you replace (the *hamzah*) with *yā'* in case of (a preceding) *kasrah* and with *wāw* in case of (a preceding) *ḍammah*. That is, for example, the words *wa-nunšiyakum#* (← *wa-nunši'akum*) (Q56:61), *'inna šāniyak#* (← *'inna šāni'aka*) (Q108:3), *muliya#* (← *muli'at*) (Q72:8), *al-ḥāṭi-yah#* (← *al-ḥāṭi'ati*) (Q69:9), *li-yallā#* (← *li-'allā*) (e.g., Q2:150),²⁷ *lūluwā#* (← *lu'lu'an*) (Q76:19), *yuwaddih#* (← *yu'addih*) (Q3:75), *yuwallif#* (← *yu'allifu*) (Q24:43) and what is like it.

Besides this, you make (the *hamzah*) in between (*bayna bayn*) in all the remaining cases where it carries a vowel and (the consonant) that precedes it also carries a vowel.

If the *hamzah* carries a *ḍammah*, you make it between the *hamzah* and the *wāw*, for example, in the words of the Almighty *qul fa-dra.ū#* (← *qul fa-dra'ū*, قل فادروا) (Q3:168), *ya.ūsā#* (← *ya'ūsan*, يوس) (Q17:83), *ra.uf#* (← *ra'ufun*, روف) (e.g., Q2:207), *bi-ru.ūsikum#* (← *bi-ru'ūsikum*, بروسكم) (Q5:6), *lā ya.ūduh#* (← *lā ya'ūduhū*, لا يوده) (Q2:255),²⁸ *mustahzi.ūn#* (←

²⁶ This may also be read with *naql* of the initial *hamzah*; see the discussion below.

²⁷ Note that *li-'allā* 'so that not' is treated as if it is a single word, and thus the *hamzah* is word-internal. This is due to its *rasm*, لا، which treats the *hamzah* as word-internal rather than word-initial, as we see with its positive counterpart *li-'an* spelled لا.

²⁸ Pretzl has *yu'addi-h*, but this is wrong (al-Dānī 2008a, 24).

mustahzi'ūna, مستهزون (Q2:14),²⁹ *li-yuwāṭi.ū#* (← *li-yuwāṭi'ū*, ليواطوا) (Q9:37), *ya-bna-umm#* (← *ya-bna-ummi*, يبنوم) (Q20:94)³⁰ and what is like it. (You do this) as long as it does not have the shape of a *yā'* (in the *rasm*), for example, *'unabbiyukum#* (← *'unabbi'ukum*, انبيكم) (Q3:49), *sa-nuqriyuk#* (← *sa-nuqri'uka*, سنقريك) (Q87:6), *kāna sayyiyuh#* (← *kāna sayyi'uhū*, كان سييه) (Q17:38)³¹ and what is like it. (In that case) you replace (the *hamzah*) with a *yā'* carrying a *ḍammah*. This is according to Ḥamzah's practice to pronounce the word how it is written when he pauses when it comes to the *hamzah*. This is the opinion of al-'Aḥfaṣ; by that I mean the softening in that (context) by replacement (of the *hamzah* with a *yā'*).³² (P:40)

If (the *hamzah*) carries a *fathah*, you make it between the *hamzah* and the 'alif; for example, in the words of the Almighty *sa.altahum#* (← *sa'altahum*) (e.g., Q9:65), *wayka.ann#* 'allāha (← *wayka'anna llāha*) (Q28:82), *wayka.annah#* (← *wayka'annahū*) (Q28:82), *ḥaṭa.ā#* (← *ḥaṭa'an*) (Q4:92), *malḡa.ā#* (← *malḡa'an*) (Q9:57), *muttaka.ā#* (← *muttaka'an*) (Q12:31) and what is like it.

If (the *hamzah*) carries a *kasrah*, you make it between the *hamzah* and the *yā'*; for example, in the words *ḡabra.il#* (*ḡabra'ilu*) (e.g., Q66:4), *ya.is#* 'alladīna (← *ya'isa lladīna*) (Q5:3), *su.il#* (← *su'ila*) (Q2:108), *yawma.id#* (← *yawma'idīn*) (e.g., Q3:167), *ḥina.id#* (← *ḥina'idīn*) (Q56:84) and what is like it.

U.11.6.2. Subsection: Ḥamzah's Pausal *hamzah* Softening on Word Boundaries

Know that in everything that Ḥamzah softens among the *hamzahs*, he adheres to the writing of the *muṣḥaf*, rather than (reasoning by) analogy, like what we have presented before.

Our teachers disagree on the softening of an (initial) *hamzah* rendered word-medial by the addition of a clitic before it (i.e., some apply softening and other do not); for example,

²⁹ In modern recitation forms with no *hamzah* at all are also typical (*mustahzūn#*). This option is not mentioned in the *Taysīr*, but al-Dānī mentions it in *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 596–97).

³⁰ Note that this word is treated as if it were a single word, and thus the *hamzah* is word-internal. This is due to its *rasm* (يبنوم) which treats the *hamzah* as word-internal rather than the classical يا ابن ام.

³¹ Pretzl has *kāna sayyi'atan*. Ḥamzah's reading is *kāna sayyi'uhū* (see F.17:38.) (al-Dānī 2008a, 24).

³² Indeed, al-'Aḥfaṣ al-'Awsaṭ (d. 215/831), the grammarian (N.B. *not* the transmitter of Ibn Ḍaḳwān that is al-'Aḥfaṣ al-'Aṣḡar, d. 272/886) says that the sequence *i'u* is not softened to *i.u* but instead to *iyu*. This is in conflict with what his teacher Sībawayh (d. ca. 180/797) describes (al-'Aḥfaṣ al-'Awsaṭ 1990, 48; Sībawayh 1988, III:542).

in the words 'a-fa-'ant/'a-fa-.ant# (← 'a-fa-'anta) (e.g., Q10:42), fa-bi-'ayy/fa-bi-yayy# 'ālā'i (← fa-bi-'ayyi 'ālā'i) (Q53:55), bi-'ayyikum/bi-yayyikum# (← bi-'ayyikum) (Q68:6), ka-'ay-yin/ka-.ayyin# (← ka-'ayyin) (e.g., Q3:146), ka-'annah/ka-.annah# (← ka-'annahū) (Q7:171), fa-la-'uqattī'ann/fa-la-.uqattī'ann# (← fa-la-'uqattī'anna) (Q20:71), la-bi-'imām/la-bi-.imām# (← la-bi-'imāmin) (Q15:79), al-'arḍ/alarḍ# (← al-'arḍ) (e.g., Q2:11), al-'āḥirah/alāḥirah# (← al-'āḥirah) (e.g., Q2:94) and what is like it.

Likewise (there is disagreement), when two words are joined in writing, and so they are made into a single word; for example, in the words of the Almighty *hā.ulā(ā)#/hā 'ulā(ā)#* (← *hā 'ulā'i* هولا) (e.g., Q2:31), *hā.antum#/hā 'antum#* (← *hā 'antum* هانتم) (e.g., Q3:66), *yā.ayyuhā#/yā 'ayyuhā#* (← *yā 'ayyuhā* يايها) (e.g., Q2:21), *yā.uḥt#/yā 'uḥt#* (← *yā 'uḥta* يااخت) (Q19:28), *yā.ādam#/yā 'ādam#* (← *yā 'ādamu* يادم) (e.g., Q2:33), *yā.ulī/yā 'ulī* (← *yā 'ulī* ياولي) (e.g., Q2:179) and what is like it.³³

So, some of them favour softening in these, relying on what happens word-medially (to words where it does affect the *rasm*). Others do not favour anything but full pronunciation of the *hamzah*, relying on their status as word-initial *hamzahs*. Both practices are good, and they have been transmitted in texts of transmitters. Success comes from God.

U.12. The Lack of Assimilation and the Assimilation of Unvowelled Letters

U.12.1. [The Assimilation of 'id]

They disagree on the (assimilation of the) *dāl* of 'id with six letters: with *ḡim*, *zāy*, *sin*, *ṣād*, *tā'* and *dāl*, as for example in the words of the Almighty *wa-'id ḡa'alnā* (Q2:125), *wa-'id zayyana* (Q8:48), *'id sami'tumūhu* (Q24:12, 16), *'id ṣarafnā* (Q46:29), *'id tabarra'a* (Q2:166), *'id daḥalū* (e.g., Q15:52).^(P:41)

The two of the holy cities and 'Āṣim pronounce the *dāl* unassimilated with all of these letters.

Ibn Ḍakwān assimilates it to the *dāl* only (i.e., 'id=daḥalū but *wa-'id ḡa'alnā*, etc.).

³³ In the 'Uṣmānic text these words are spelled يادم، يااخت، يايها، هانتم، هولا and ياولي respectively. The *hā* and *yā* particles are considered to be separate words, also for the purposes of *madd*, see U.10. In Modern Standard Arabic orthography most of these are spelled as two words: ها أأتم، يا أايها، يا أأخت، يا آدم and يا أاولي. But هولا retains its Qur'ānic orthography.

Ḥalaf assimilates it to the *tā'* and the *dāl* (i.e., *'iṭtabarra'a*, *'iḍdaḥalū* but *wa-'iḍ ḡa'alnā*, etc.)

Ḥallād and al-Kisā'i leave it unassimilated with the *ḡim* only (and assimilated it to all others) (i.e., *wa-'iḍ ḡa'alnā* but *wa-'iẓzayyana*, etc.).

'Abū 'Amr and Hišām assimilate it to all six letters (i.e., *wa-'iḡḡa'alnā*, *wa-'iẓzayyana*, *'iṣsami'tumūhu*, *'iṣ̣ṣarafnā*, *'iṭtabarra'a*, *'iḍdaḥalū*).

U.12.2. [The Assimilation of *qad*]

They disagree on the (assimilation of the) *dāl* of *qad* with eight letters: with *ḡim*, *sīn*, *šīn*, *ṣād*, *zāy*, *dāl*, *ḏā'*, *dād*; for example, in the words of the Almighty *la-qad ḡā'akum* (e.g., Q2:92), *la-qad sami'a* (Q3:181), *qad šaḡafahā* (Q12:30), *la-qad ṣarrafnā* (e.g., Q17:41), *la-qad dara'nā* (Q7:179), *la-qad zayyannā* (Q67:5), *fa-qad ḏalla* (Q2:108) and *fa-qad ḏalama* (Q2:231).

Ibn Katīr, Qālūn and 'Āsim pronounce the *dāl* unassimilated with all of these letters.

Warš assimilates it to the *dād* and *ḏā'* only (i.e., *fa-qadḏalla*, *fa-qadḏalama*, but *la-qad ḡā'akum*, etc.).

Ibn Ḍakwān assimilates it to the *zāy*, *dāl*, *dād* and *ḏā'*, those four and nothing else (i.e., *la-qaẓzayyannā*, *la-qadḏara'nā*, *fa-qadḏalla*, *fa-qadḏalama*, but *la-qad ḡā'akum*, etc.). Al-Naqqāš transmits from al-'Aḥfaš [from Ibn Ḍakwān] no assimilation with the *zāy* (i.e., *la-qad zayyannā*).

Hišām keeps *la-qad ḏalamaka* unassimilated in Ṣād (Q38:24) only (and assimilated *qad* to all eight letters everywhere else).

The rest assimilate the *dāl* to (all) eight letters (i.e., *la-qagḡā'akum*, *la-qaṣsami'a*, *qaṣ̌ṣaḡafahā*, *la-qaṣ̣ṣarrafnā*, *la-qadḏara'nā*, *la-qaẓzayyannā*, *fa-qadḏalla*, *fa-qadḏalama*).

U.12.3. [The Assimilation of the Third Person Singular Feminine Verbal Suffix *-at*]

They disagree on the (assimilation of) the feminine verbal suffix *-at* with six letters, with *ḡim*, *sīn*, *ṣād*, *zāy*, *tā'*, *ḏā'*, as for example in the words of the Almighty *naḏiḡat ḡulūduhum* (Q4:56), *kaḏḏabat tamūdu* (e.g., Q26:141), *nuzzilat sūratun* (Q47:20), *ḥaṣirat ṣudūruhum* (Q4:90), *ḥabat zidnāhum* (Q17:97), *kānat ḏālimatan* (Q21:11) and what is like it. ^(P:42)

So, Ibn Katīr, Qālūn and 'Āsim keep the *tā'* unassimilated with all of these letters.

Warš assimilates it to the *ḏā'* only (i.e., *kānaḏḏālimatan*, but *naḏiḡat ḡulūduhum*, etc.).

Ibn 'Āmir pronounces it unassimilated with the *ġīm*, *sīn* and *zāy* (i.e., *naḍiġat ġulūduhum*, *nuzzilat sūratun*, *ḥabat zidnāhum*, but *ḥaṣīraṣṣudūruhum*, etc.). There is disagreement between Ibn Ḍakwān and Hišām on the word *la-huddimat ṣawāmi'u* (Q22:40): Ibn Ḍakwān assimilates it (i.e., *la-huddimaṣṣawāmi'u*), and Hišām does not (i.e., *la-huddimat ṣawāmi'u*).

The rest assimilate the *tā'* in the six cases (i.e., *naḍiġaġġulūduhum*, *kaḍḍabaṭṭamūdu*, *nuzzilasṣūratun*, *ḥaṣīraṣṣudūruhum*, *ḥabazṣidnāhum*, *kānaḍḍālimatan*).

U.12.4. [The Assimilation of *hal* and *bal*]

They disagree on the (assimilation of the) *lām* of *hal* and *bal* with eight letters, with *tā'*, *ṭā'*, *sīn*, *zāy*, *ṭā'*, *ḍā'*, *ḍād*, *nūn*; for example, in the words of the Almighty *hal ta'lamu* (Q19:65), *hal tuwwiba* (Q83:36), *bal sawwalat* (Q12:18, 83), *bal zuyyina* (Q13:33), *bal ṭaba'a* (Q4:155), *bal ḍanantum* (Q48:12), *bal ḍallū* (Q46:28), *hal nadullukum* (Q34:7), *hal nunabbi'ukum* (Q18:103), *hal naḥnu* (Q26:203) and what is like it.

Al-Kisā'i assimilates the *lām* to (all) eight letters (*hatṭa'lamu*, *haṭṭuwwiba*, *basṣawwalat*, *baṣṣzuyyina*, *baṭṭaba'a*, *baḍḍanantum*, *baḍḍallū*, *hanṣnadullukum*).

Ḥamzah assimilates it only to the *tā'*, *ṭā'*, and *sīn* (*hatṭa'lamu*, *haṭṭuwwiba*, *basṣawwalat*, but *bal zuyyina*, etc.).

There are divergent transmissions from Ḥallād regarding the *ṭā'* in the word *bal ṭaba'a llāhu* (Q4:155). I have recited it in both ways (*baṭṭaba'a llāhu*/*bal ṭaba'a llāhu*), but with assimilation is what I adopt for his (reading).

Hišām leaves it unassimilated with the *nūn* and the *ḍād*, and with the *tā'* in the word in al-Ra'd (Q13:16) *'am hal tastawī* and nothing else (i.e., *hatṭa'lamu*, *haṭṭuwwiba*, *basṣawwalat*, *baṣṣzuyyina*, *baṭṭaba'a*, *baḍḍanantum*, but *bal ḍallū*, *hal nadullukum*, etc.).

'Abū 'Amr assimilates *hatṭarē min fuṭūrin*, *fa-hatṭarē lahum* in al-Mulk (Q67:3) and al-Hāqqah (Q69:8) and nothing else.

The rest leave the *lām* unassimilated with (all) eight letters.

U.12.5. Subsection: [Various Assimilations]

'Abū 'Amr, Ḥallād and al-Kisā'i assimilate the *bā'* to the *fā'* wherever it occurs; for example, in the words of the Almighty *'aw yaġlibfa-sawfa* (← *yaġlib fa-sawfa*) (Q4:74), *wa-man lam yatuffa-ulā'ika* (← *yatub fa-ulā'ika*) (Q49:11) and what is like it. Ḥallād gives (the reciter) a choice in *wa-man lam yatub fa-ulā'ika* (both assimilated and unassimilated).^(P:43)

Al-Kisā'ī assimilates the *fā'* to the *bā'*; for example, in the words of the Almighty *'in naša' naḥsib=biḥumu l-'arḍ* (← *naḥsif biḥim*) in Saba' (Q34:9). The others leave these unassimilated.

'Abū al-Ḥārīt assimilates the *lām* of *wa-man yaḥ'al*—if it was unvowelled to mark the *ḡazm*—to the *ḍāl*; for example, in the words of the Almighty *wa-man yaḥ'ad=ḍālīka* (← *yaḥ'al ḍālīka*) (e.g., Q2:231) and the others leave it unassimilated.

The two of the holy cities and 'Āšim leave unassimilated *labiṭta* (e.g., Q2:259), *labiṭtu* (Q2:259, Q10:16), *labiṭtum* (e.g., Q17:52) and *man yurid ṭawāba* (Q3:145) whenever they occur. The rest assimilate those (i.e., *labitta*, *labittu*, *labittum*, *man yuriṭ=ṭawāba*).

Hišām, 'Abū 'Amr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī assimilate *'urittumūhā* (← *'uriṭtumūhā*) in both places (Q7:43; Q43:72).

'Abū 'Amr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī assimilate *fa-nabattuhā* (← *fa-nabaḍtuhā*) (Q20:96) and *wa-'innī 'uttu bi-rabbī* (← *wa-'innī 'uḍtu bi-rabbī*) (Q40:37; Q44:30). The others leave it unassimilated.

Ibn Kaṭīr and Ḥafṣ leave *ittaḥaḍtum* (e.g., Q29:25), *'aḥaḍtum* (Q3:81; Q8:68), *la-ttaḥaḍta/la-taḥiḍta* (Q18:77) and what is similar to them unassimilated, but the others assimilate them (i.e., *ittaḥattum*, *'aḥattum*, *la-ttaḥatta/la-taḥitta*).

Ibn Kaṭīr, Warš and Hišām leave *yalhaṭ ḍālīka* (Q7:176) unassimilated, and there is disagreement in transmission from Qālūn (with and without assimilation). The others assimilate it (i.e., *yalhaḍ=ḍālīka*).

'Abū 'Amr assimilates an unvowelled *rā'* to a *lām*, such as in the words of the Almighty *naḡfil=lakum* (← *naḡfir lakum*) (Q2:58; Q7:161), *iṣbil=li-ḥukmi rabbika* (← *iṣbir li-ḥukmi*) (e.g., Q52:48) and what is like it, with disagreement among the people of Iraq on this matter. Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad b. 'Alī related to us, saying that Ibn Muḡāhid related to us from his teachers, from al-Yazīdī, from 'Abū 'Amr that it was with assimilation, and he did not mention disagreement nor another option.³⁴ The others leave it unassimilated.^(P:44)

Warš, Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah leave *yā bunayyi rkab ma'anā* (Q11:42) unassimilated, and there was disagreement in transmission from Qālūn, al-Bazzī and Ḥallād (to assimilate it, i.e., *irkam=ma'anā/irkab ma'anā*). Warš leaves *wa-yu'addib man yašā'u* in al-Baqarah (Q2:284) unassimilated, and there is also disagreement in transmission from Qunbul and al-

³⁴ Indeed, Ibn Muḡāhid only mentions the option of assimilation (Ibn Muḡāhid 1972, 121).

Bazzī (to assimilate it, i.e., *wa-yu'addim-man/wa-yu'addib man*). The rest assimilate it (i.e., *irkam-ma'anā, wa-yu'addim-man*).³⁵

Among what is discussed in this chapter (i.e., on the topic of assimilation) concerning the beginnings of the *sūrahs* (i.e., the disconnected letters), we will mention it there (under the relevant chapter on the *sūrah* with disconnected letters) if God wills it.

U.12.6. Subsection: [Assimilation of the *nūn* and *tanwīn*]

(The readers) agree on the assimilation of the unvowelled *nūn* and the *tanwīn* with the *rā'* and *lām* without nasalisation (e.g., Q2:5 *mir-rabbiḥim(ū)* ← *min rabbiḥim(ū)*; Q2:25 *ṭamaratir-rizqan* ← *ṭamaratin rizqan*; Q2:12 *wa-lākil-lā* ← *wa-lākin lā*; Q2:17 *ẓulumātil-lā* ← *ẓulumātin lā*).

They agree on the assimilation of the two of them to the *mīm* and *nūn* with nasalisation (e.g. Q2:23 *bi-sūratim-mim-miṭliḥi* ← *bi-sūratin min miṭliḥi*; Q2:48 *'an-naḥsin* ← *'an naḥsin*; Q2:58 *ḥiṭṭatun-naḡfir* ← *ḥiṭṭatun naḡfir*).

They disagree with regard to the *yā'* and the *wāw*. So Ḥalaf reads with assimilation without nasalisation, as for example the words *wa-may-yaqul* (← *wa-man yaqul*) (Q21:29), *yawma'idīy-yaṣṣadda'ūna* (← *yawma'idīn yaṣṣadda'ūna*) (Q30:43), *miw-wālin* (← *min wālin*) (Q13:11), *yawma'idīw-wāhiyah* (← *yawma'idīn wāhiyah*) (Q69:16) and what is like it, and the rest assimilate them while retaining the nasalisation (i.e., *maṣ-yaqul*, *yawma'idīy-yaṣṣada'ūna*, *miw-wālin*, *yawma'idīw-wāhiyah*), so true replacement (of the *n*) is prevented by it.

They also agree on the lack of assimilation of the two (*nūn* and *tanwīn*) to the six guttural letters, and those are: *hamzah*, *hā'*, *ḥā'*, *'ayn*, *ḥā'* and *ḡayn*, except when it comes to the manner of Warš with the *hamzah* as he places the vowel that is on the *hamzah* on them (the *nūn* or *tanwīn*), and this has already been mentioned.³⁶

Likewise, they agree on the changing of both (*nūn* and *tanwīn*) into a *mīm* next to a *bā'* only, and on the *'ihfā'* with the remaining letters of the alphabet. *'Ihfā'* is a state between

³⁵ This only affects those who read *yu'addib* with *ḡazm* (everybody but 'Āṣim and Ibn 'Āmir, see F.2:284).

³⁶ See U.11.4.

clear pronunciation and assimilation, and it is devoid of gemination, so know it! Success comes from God.^(P:45)

U.13. The *fath* and the *'imālah* and What Is in between the Two Sounds

Know that Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī pronounce with *'imālah* all the nouns and verbs that have a stem-final *yā'*; for example, nouns in the words of the Almighty *mūsē* (e.g., Q2:51), *'isē* (e.g., Q2:87), *yaḥyē* (e.g., Q6:85), *al-mawtē* (Q2:73), *tūbē* (Q13:29), *'iḥdē* (e.g., Q8:7), *kusālē* (Q4:142; Q9:54), *'asrē* (Q8:67), *yatāmē* (Q4:127), *furādē* (Q6:94; Q34:46), *an-naṣarē* (Q2:62), *al-'ayāmē* (Q24:32), *al-ḥawāyē* (Q6:146), *bušrē* (Q2:97), *ḍikrē* (Q6:69), *sīmē*,³⁷ *ḍizē* (Q53:22) and what is like it among those (nouns) whose *'alif* marks the feminine.

It is likewise for *al-hudē* (Q2:120), *al-'amē* (Q41:17), *aḍ-ḍuḥē* (Q93:1), *az-zinē* (Q17:32), *ma'wēhu* (e.g., Q3:162), *ma'wēkum* (e.g., Q29:25), *maṭwēhu* (Q12:21), *maṭwēkum* (Q6:128; Q47:19) and what is like it among those that end in *'alif maqṣūrah*.

Likewise, for *al-'adnē* (Q7:169; Q32:21), *'azkē* (e.g., Q2:232), *'awlē* (e.g., Q3:68), *al-'alē* (Q16:60) and what is like it among the (relative) adjectives.

As for the verbs, examples are in the words of the Almighty: *'abē* (Q2:34), *sa'ē* (Q2:114), *zakkē*,³⁸ *fa-sawwē* (Q75:38; Q87:2), *yaḥfē* (e.g., Q3:5), *tahwē* (e.g., Q2:87), *yardē* (e.g., Q4:108) and what is like it of those (verbs) whose *'alif* replaces a (final radical) *yā'*.

Likewise, both apply *'imālah* to *'annē* when it has the meaning 'how', for example, in His speech *'annē šī'tum* (Q2:223) and *'annē laki* (Q3:37) and what is like it.

Likewise, *matē* (e.g., Q2:214), *balē* (e.g., Q2:81) and *'asē* (Q2:216), whenever they occur, and everything else similar to it from among those written in the *rasm* of the *muṣḥafs* with *yā'*, with the exception of five words, and they are *ḥattā*, *ladā*, *'alā*, *'ilā* and *mā zakā* (Q24:21). Those are unanimously pronounced with *ā*.³⁹

The same is true (that they are pronounced with *ā*) for all those among the nouns and verbs that have a stem-final *wāw*.

³⁷ This word only occurs in possessed form in the Qur'ān, e.g., Q2:273 *sīmēhum*.

³⁸ This word only occurs with a direct object clitic in the Qur'ān, Q91:9 *zakkēhā*.

³⁹ Unanimous in the transmission paths presented here. Al-Dānī does transmit paths from al-Kisā'ī for *mā zakē* and *ḥattē* in the *Ġāmi'* *al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 696, 747).

So, the nouns are, for example, *aṣ-ṣafā* (Q2:158), *sanā barqihī* (Q24:43), *ʿaṣāhu* (e.g., Q7:107), *ṣafā ġurufin* (Q9:109), *ʾabā ʾaḥadīn* (Q33:40) and what is like it.

The verbs are, for example *ḥalā* (Q2:76; Q35:24), *daʿā* (e.g., Q3:38), *badā* (e.g., Q6:28), *danā* (Q53:8), *ʾafā* (e.g., Q2:187), *ʾalā* (Q28:4) and what is like it, so long as they do not occur among the words with stem-final *yāʾ* in *sūrahs* that end in *yāʾ* (i.e., Q93:2 *saḡē/ā*)⁴⁰ or if they are derived stems, for example in the words of the Almighty *yudʿē* (Q61:7), *tutlē* (e.g., Q3:101), *fa-man iʿtadē* (Q2:178), *man istaʿlē* (Q20:64), *ʾanḡēkum* (Q14:6), and like that *naḡḡēnā* (e.g., Q7:89), *naḡḡēkum* (Q17:67), *zakkēhā* (Q91:9) and what is like it. *ʾImālah* in these is fitting as derivation has changed them into stems with final *yāʾ*.^(P:46)

You can find out which of the nouns have root-final *wāw* through the dual, when you say *ṣafawāni*, *ʿaṣawāni*, *sanawāni*, *ṣafawāni* and what is like it.

You find this out for the verbs by inflecting it for the first person, when you say: *ḥalawtu*, *badawtu*, *danawtu*, *ʿalawtu* and what is like it. So, the *wāw* becomes apparent to you in all of these cases, and *ʾimālah* is prevented due to that.

Likewise, you can find out which nouns and verbs are among the *ḍawāt al-yāʾ* through the dual and by conjugating the verb in the first person. When you say *hudayāni*, *ʿamayāni*, *hawayāni*, *saʿaytu*, *hadaytu* and what is like it, the *yāʾ* becomes apparent to you in all these cases, so you apply *ʾimālah*.

ʾAbū ʿAmr reads from all that preceded (only) those that have a *rāʾ* and a *yāʾ* after it with *ʾimālah* (e.g., *yarē* Q53:12). (He read) in between the two sounds those (words) which are verse-final in the *sūrahs* whose verses end in *yāʾ* or (*yāʾ* with) *hāʾ* and *ʾalif* (i.e., the pronoun *-hā*) (e.g. Q92:1 *yaḡṣā*, Q91:1 *wa-ḍuḥāhā*).

(He also reads it in between the two sounds) when the pattern is *faʿlā*, *fīʿlā* or *fuʿlā* with *fathah*, *kasrah* or *ḍammah* as the vowel of the first root letter and do not also have a *rāʾ* in it (before the final *yāʾ*) (e.g., *al-qurbā*, *al-mawtā*, *ʾihdā*). (He reads) everything else with *fath* (i.e., with *ā*).

Warṣ reads all of these in between the two sounds except what is among those in the *sūrah* that ends with verses that have (*yāʾ*) with *hāʾ* and *ʾalif*. So, he pronounces those with pure *fath* (i.e., with *ā*) in it (i.e., Q79:27–32, 42–46; Q91, e.g. *banāhā*, *fa-sawwāhā*, etc.). There is disagreement among the people of oral tradition on that detail (i.e., some do read

⁴⁰ In those cases, there is cause for disagreement between al-Kisāʾī and Ḥamzah, see U.13.1.

banāhā, *fa-sawwāhā*, etc.), but this is only the case when there is no *rā'* in it. There is not a single text that reports disagreement on this (in the case of *rā'*, all agree it is *ḍikrāhā*).⁴¹ (P:47)

'Abū Bakr applies 'imālah to *ramē* in al-'Anfāl (Q8:17) and 'a'mē in both places in Subḥān (Q17:72).

'Abū 'Amr agrees with him in applying 'imālah to 'a'mē (in Q17:72) in its first occurrence only; and he applies the *fath* to all besides that one.

Ḥaṣṣ applies 'imālah in *mağrēhā* in Hūd (Q11:41) and nothing else.

Among the path of the People of Iraq transmitting from 'Abū 'Amr I have recited *yā waylatā* (Q5:31; Q11:72; Q25:82), *yā ḥasratā* (Q39:56) and 'annā (e.g., Q2:223) when it is an interrogative (i.e., أَنَّى 'how?', not اِنَّآ 'that we') between the two sounds and *yā 'asafā* (Q12:84) with *fath* (i.e., ā). I have recited (all of) these with *fath* along the path of the people of Raqqa (i.e., the transmitters of al-Sūsī). Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i apply 'imālah to these according to their principle (i.e., *yā waylatē*, etc.). The rest read with pure *fath* in all that preceded.

U.13.1. Subsection: ['Imālah of Some Words Unique to al-Kisā'i]

Al-Kisā'i diverges from Ḥamzah in applying 'imālah to 'aḥyēkum (Q22:66), *fa-'aḥyē bihi* (Q2:164) and 'aḥyēhā (Q5:32) whenever it occurs, when it is prefixed by *fā'* or not prefixed, but nothing else (i.e., not when prefixed by *wa-*, for which al-Kisā'i and Ḥamzah agree, see below).

(He also diverges from Ḥamzah) with the words *ḥaṭāyēkum* (Q2:58; Q29:12), *ḥaṭāyēhum* (Q29:12), *ḥaṭāyēnā* (Q20:73; Q26:51), *ar-ru'yē* (e.g., Q17:60), *ru'yēya* (Q12:43; Q12:100), *marḍētī llāhi* (e.g., Q2:207), *marḍētī* (Q60:1) whenever they occur, and with the words of the Almighty in 'Āl 'Imrān (Q3:102) *ḥaqqā tuqētihi*, in al-'An'ām (Q6:80) *wa-qad hadēni*, in 'Ibrāhīm (Q14:36) *wa-man 'aṣēni*, in al-Kahf (Q18:63) *wa-mā 'ansēnihi*, in Maryam (Q19:30) 'ātēniya *l-kitāba*, *wa-'awṣēni bi-ṣ-ṣālāti* (Q19:31), in al-Naml (Q27:36) *fa-mā 'ātēni llāhu*, in al-Ğāṭiyah (Q45:21) *maḥyēhum*, in al-Nāzi'āt (Q79:30) *daḥēhā*, in al-Šams *talēhā* (Q91:2), *ṭaḥēhā* (Q91:6) and in al-Ḍuḥā (Q93:2) *sağē*.^(P:48)

He agrees with Ḥamzah on the 'imālah in the words of the Almighty *wa-yahyē* (Q8:42), *wa-lā yahyē* (Q20:74; Q87:13), 'amāta *wa-'aḥyē* (Q53:44) when it is prefixed by *wāw*, and

⁴¹ The wording might suggest that this forms a class of exceptions, but in reality, it only concerns one word. Even those that pronounce *-āhā* without *ā* make an exception for Q79:43 *ḍikrāhā*.

likewise *ad-dunyē* (e.g., Q2:85), *al-ʿulyē* (Q9:40), *al-ḥawāyē* (Q6:146), *aḍ-ḍuḥē* (Q93:1), *ḍuḥēhā* (Q91:1), *ar-ribē* (e.g., Q2:275), *ʾinnanī hadēnī* (Q6:161), *ʾātēnī* in Hūd (Q11:28, 63), *wa-law ʾanna lḷāha hadēnī* (Q39:57), *minhum tuqētan* (Q3:28), *muzḡētin* (Q12:88), *ʾaw kilēhumā* (Q17:23) and *ʾinēhu wa-lākin* (Q33:35).

Hišām follows the two of them in the *ʾimālah* of *ʾinēhu* only, and the rest read all of this with *fath*. The manner of ʾAbū ʿAmr with *fvʿlā* (nouns) and the manner of Warš with words that have a root final *yāʾ* have already been mentioned.⁴²

U.13.2. Subsection: [*ʾImālah* that Is Unique to al-Dūrī from al-Kisāʾī]

Al-Kisāʾī is also unique in the transmission of al-Dūrī with *ʾimālah* in the words *ʾādēnihim* (Q2:19, etc.), *ʾādēninā* (Q41:5), *tuḡyēnihim* (Q2:15, etc.) whenever they occur and *hudēya* (Q2:38; Q20:123), *maṭwēya* (Q12:23), *maḥyēya* (Q6:162), *ruʾyēka* at the beginning of Sūrat Yūsuf (Q12:5) specifically, *bēriʾikum* in both occurrences (both in Q2:54), *bēriʾu l-muṣawwir* (Q59:24), *sēriʾu* (Q3:133), *yusēriʾuna* (e.g., Q3:114) and *nusēriʾu* (Q23:56), whenever they occur, and *al-ḡēri* in both places (Q4:36), *ḡabbērīna* in both places (Q5:22; Q26:130), *al-ḡawērī* in al-Šūrā (Q42:32), al-Raḥmān (Q55:24) and Kuwwirat (Q81:16), *man ʾanṣērī ʾilā lḷāhi* in both places (Q3:52; Q61:41) and *ka-miškētin* in al-Nūr (Q24:35).^(P:49)

The rest apply *fath* in all of these words except the word *ruʾ/ūyāka*: ʾAbū ʿAmr and Warš read it (with the sound) in between as per their principle.

As for His words *al-ḡāri* (e.g., Q4:36) and *ḡabbārīna* (Q5:22; Q26:130), Warš reads those two also in between (*fathah* and *ʾimālah*) with disagreement in transmission from him between the people of the oral tradition. The foremost way (i.e., with *ā*) is how I have recited it and what I adopt.

[ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḡaʿfar] al-Fārisī transmitted to me from ʾAbū Ṭāhir from ʾAbū ʿUṭmān Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān the blind from ʾAbū ʿUmar [al-Dūrī] from al-Kisāʾī⁴³ that he applies *ʾimālah* to *yuwērī* and *fa-ʾuwērī* in the two occurrences in al-Māʾidah (Q5:31); no one else transmitted that from him. I adopt that (*ʾimālah*) for this path, and I have read them both (the two words) in the path of Ibn Muḡāhid with *fath*.

⁴² See the beginning of U.13.

⁴³ This *ʾisnād* does not occur in U.4.7.1., but it is mentioned in the *Ḡāmiʿ al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 383).

U.13.3. Subsection: [Hollow Root *'imālah* and Some Others]

Ḥamzah is unique in applying the *'imālah* to ten verbs. These are *ǧē'a* (e.g., Q4:43), *šē'a* (Q2:20), *zēda*,⁴⁴ *rēna* (Q83:14), *ḥēfa* (e.g., Q2:182), *ṭēba* (Q4:3), *ḥēba* (e.g., Q14:15), *ḥēqa* (e.g., Q6:10), *dēqa* (e.g., Q11:77), *zēga* in al-Naǧm (Q53:17) and *zēgū* in al-Šaff (Q61:5) and nothing else;⁴⁵ it is the same whether these verbs were followed by a pronominal suffix or not, when it is of three letters (i.e., stem I) and in the perfect.

Al-Kisā'i and 'Abū Bakr follow him in the *'imālah* in *bar-rēna* (Q83:14) and nothing else.

Ibn Ḍakwān follows him in the *'imālah* of *ǧē'a* and *šē'a* whenever they occur and *fa-zēdahum* at the beginning of al-Baqarah (Q2:10); this is the transmission of Muḥammad b. al-'Aḥram⁴⁶ from al-'Aḥfaš from him (i.e., Ibn Ḍakwān). Others transmit it from him with *'imālah* (of *zēda* not just in al-Baqarah, but) in all of the Qur'ān.^(P:50)

Ḥamzah is also unique in applying the *'imālah* of the *fathah* of the *hamzah*, through *'išmām*,⁴⁷ in the words of the Almighty *'ana 'ētika bihi* in the two occurrences in al-Naml (Q27:39, 40). (He is also unique in applying of) *'imālah* of the *fathah* of the *'ayn* in the word *ḍi'ēfan* in al-Nisā' (Q4:9). There is disagreement in transmission from Ḥallād in these three places and I adopt *fath* for him (i.e., *'ātika* and *ḍi'āfan*).

U.13.4. Subsection: [The *āri* → *ēri* *'imālah* of 'Abū 'Amr and al-Dūrī ← al-Kisā'i]

'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i, in the transmission of al-Dūrī, apply *'imālah* to each *'alif* which has after it a *rā'* with *ǧarr* on it when it is the third root letter of the word; for example, *'alā 'abšērihim* (Q2:7),⁴⁸ *'āṭērihim* (e.g., Q5:46), *an-nēri* (Q2:39), *al-qahhēri* (Q14:48; Q40:16), *al-*

⁴⁴ This verb only occurs with a pronominal object clitic, e.g., Q2:10 *fa-zēdahum*.

⁴⁵ So, the feminine form *zāǧat* does not undergo *'imālah*.

⁴⁶ Pretzl has al-'Aḥzam (al-Dānī 2008a, 26). Note that this *'isnād* is not present in the *Taysir* nor in the *Ǧāmi' al-bayān*. It is one of the *tilāwah* paths for al-Dānī's teacher 'Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Ġalbūn (Ibn Ġalbūn 1991, 27).

⁴⁷ *'Išmām* appears to be used in a not quite technical sense, presumably to mean 'as vowel harmony' here.

⁴⁸ Pretzl has *'anšērihim*, a phrase that does not occur in the Qur'ān (al-Dānī 2008a, 26).

ġēri (Q9:40), *bi-qinṭērīn* (Q3:75), *bi-dīnērīn* (Q3:75), *al-'abrērī* (Q3:193; Q83:18) and what is like it.⁴⁹

'Abū al-Ḥārīt follows them in applying the *'imālah* (only) when the root contains a double *rā'* in it; for example, *qarērīn* (Q14:26), *al-'ašrērī* (Q38:62), *al-'abrērī* (Q3:193; Q83:18) and pronounces the rest (of these words) with pure *fath*.

The disagreement (among the readers) in His speech *ġurufīn hērīn* (Q9:109) will be discussed in its place.⁵⁰

Warš reads all of these words in between the two sounds (i.e., *'abšārihim*, etc.), and Ḥamzah agrees with him in whatever is among them with a repeated *rā'* (i.e., *qarārīn*, etc.), and in the word *al-qahhārī* (Q14:48; Q40:16) wherever it occurs, and *dāra l-bawārī* (Q14:28) and nothing else. He pronounces with pure *fath* what remains.

According to the way I recited to [ʿAbū al-Faṭḥ] Fāris b. ʿAḥmad and ʿAbū al-Qāsim al-Fārisī, Ibn Ḍakwān pronounces (only) *'ilā ḥimērīka* and *al-ḥimērī* in al-Baqarah (Q2:259) and al-Ġumu'ah (Q62:5) with *'imālah* and nothing else.⁵¹ The rest read with pure *fath* in all (words mentioned in) this category.^(P:51)

U.13.5. Subsection: [More *'imālah* of ʿAbū ʿAmr and al-Dūrī ← al-Kisāʾī]

ʿAbū ʿAmr, as well as al-Kisāʾī in the transmission of al-Dūrī, apply *'imālah* to the *fathah* of the *kāf* of *al-kēfirīna* (e.g., Q2:19) and *kēfirīna* (Q3:100) (that is) when after the *rā'* there is a *yā'* (as opposed to a *wāw* of the *rafʿ*), whenever it occurs.

Warš reads these with the sound in between (the two sounds) (i.e., *(al-)kāfirīna*). The rest read it with pure *fath* (i.e., *(al-)kāfirīna*).

[ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ġaʿfar] al-Fārisī taught me to recite according to his recitation to ʿAbū Ṭāhir in the reading of ʿAbū ʿAmr (via al-Dūrī) with *'imālah* of the *fathah* of the *nūn* of *an-nēsi* (e.g., Q2:8) with *ġarr*, wherever it occurs.

⁴⁹ Note, however, that while the two instances of Q4:36 *al-ġārī* would be eligible by the formulation of this rule, they are exempt from it in the transmission of ʿAbū ʿAmr. This is mentioned rather implicitly in U.13.2, which tells us that the *'imālah* of *al-ġērī* is unique to al-Dūrī ← al-Kisāʾī.

⁵⁰ See F.9:109.

⁵¹ ʿAbū al-Faṭḥ does not appear in the *'isnād* for Ibn Ḍakwān in the *Taysīr*, but al-Dānī does have this transmission in the *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān* where he also mentions this (al-Dānī 2007, 334, 730).

This is also the transmission of 'Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān [Ibn al-Yazīdī], 'Abū Ḥamdūn and Ibn Sa'dān from al-Yazīdī.⁵² The other one (i.e., 'Abū al-Faṭḥ) taught me to recite with *fath*; this is the transmission of 'Aḥmad b. Ğubayr from al-Yazīdī,⁵³ and it is what Ibn Muğāhid observes. The rest read it with that (with *fath*).

U.13.6. Subsection: [*'Imālah* Unique to Hišām and Ibn Ḍakwān]

Hišām is alone in applying *'imālah* in the words of the Almighty *wa-maš'ribu* in Yā-Sīn (Q36:73), *min 'aynin 'ēniyatīn* in al-Ġāšiyah (Q88:5) and *'ēbidūna* (Q109:3), *'ēbidun* (Q109:4), *'ēbidūna* (Q109:5) in the three (occurrences) in al-Kāfirūna and nothing else.

Ibn Ḍakwān is unique, according to the way I recited to 'Abū al-Faṭḥ, in applying *'imālah* to the words *'imrēn* and *al-miḥrēb* whenever they occur, *min ba'di ikrēhihinna* in al-Nūr (Q24:33) and *al-'ikrēm* in two instances in al-Raḥmān (Q55:27, 78). But I recited to al-Fārisī transmitting from al-Naqqāš with *'imālah* of the *rā'* for *al-miḥrēb* only, whenever it occurs. I recited to 'Abū al-Ḥasan [Ibn Ġalbūn]⁵⁴ with *'imālah* of the *rā'* in *al-miḥrēbi* when it occurs with *ḥafḍ*, and that is in two places: in 'Āl 'Imrān (Q3:39) and Maryam (Q19:11).^(P:52)

The rest read with pure *fath* in all of these places except for what is in the manner of Warš for the *rā'*s. This will come later,⁵⁵ if God wills it.

So, these are the principles of *'imālah* from which (the particular instances) can be derived analogically. As for those that remain among those that occur dispersed among the *sūrahs*, we will mention them in their respective places, if God Almighty wills it.

U.13.7. Subsection: [Treatment of *'imālah* in Pause and Connected Speech]

Whatever is given *'imālah* in connected speech due to a trigger that is absent in pause, or if it is read in between the two sounds (due to such a trigger)—for example *bi-miqdēr#* (Q13:8),

⁵² These are all direct transmitters from al-Yazīdī that form part of 'the people of Iraq'. These are parallel transmitters of the Iraq branch of the al-Yazīdī transmissions besides al-Dūrī. None of these transmitters appears in the *'isnāds* presented in U.4.3.1.

⁵³ 'Aḥmad b. Ğubayr is one of the other direct students of al-Yazīdī. This transmission does not have an *'isnād* in the section U.4.3.1., but occurs in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 329–30).

⁵⁴ This *'isnād* is not formally present in the section on *'isnāds* nor does it occur in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* but it is indeed what Ibn Ġalbūn the son reports in his *Taḍkirah* (Ibn Ġalbūn 1991, 214).

⁵⁵ See U.15.

bi-dīnēr# (Q3:75), *al-'abrēr#* (Q3:193), *min an-nēs#* (Q2:204), *bi-rabbi n-nēs#* (Q114:1) and what is similar to it, among what occurs with a *rā'* and a *ğarrah* on the word-end—these are also given *'imālah* or are pronounced in between in pause, because the pausal forms are accidental.

As for all those whose *'imālah* is prevented in connected speech because of an unvowelled letter which follows it, whether *tanwīn* or something else—as for example in the words of the Almighty *hudan/hudē#* (e.g., Q2:2), *muṣaffan/muṣaffē#* (Q47:15), *musamman/musammē#* (e.g., Q2:282), *ḍuḥan/ḍuḥē#* (e.g., Q7:98; Q20:59), *muṣallan/muṣallē#* (Q2:125), *ğuzzan/ğuzzē#* (Q3:156), *mawlan/mawlē#* (Q44:41), *riban/ribē#* (Q30:39), *muftaran/muftarē* (Q28:36; Q34:43), *al-'aqṣā llaḍī/al-'aqṣē#* (Q17:1), *ṭağā l-mā'u/ṭağē#* (Q69:11), *an-naṣārā l-masīhu/an-naṣārē#* (Q9:30), *mūsā l-kitāba/mūsē#* (e.g., Q2:53), *'isā bnu maryama/'isē* (e.g., Q3:45), *ğanā l-ğannatayni/ğanē#* (Q55:54) and what is like it—*'imālah* is appropriate in pause in these cases, because that following unvowelled letter is absent there.

However, 'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī] transmits from al-Yazīdī the *'imālah* of the *rā'* even with a following unvowelled letter in connected speech, for example, in the words of the Almighty *narē llaḥa* (Q2:55),⁵⁶ *yarē llaḍīna* (Q2:165; Q34:6), *kubrē dḥab* (Q20:23–24), *qurē llatī* (Q36:18), *an-naṣārē l-masīhu* (Q9:30) and what is like it from those which have a *rā'*. That is what I recited for his ('Abū Šu'ayb's) manner and what I adopt. So learn that well. Success comes from God.^(P:53)

U.14. The Tradition of al-Kisā'ī When He Pauses on the *hā'* of the Feminine Ending

Know that al-Kisā'ī pauses on the *hā'* of the feminine and what is similar to it in sound,⁵⁷ with the *'imālah*, for example, in His words *ğanneh#* (← *ğannatvñ*) (e.g., Q2:265), *rabweh#*

⁵⁶ The original text says *yarē llaḥu* but this phrase does not occur in the Qur'ān (al-Dānī 2008a, 26).

⁵⁷ It is not clear what 'similar to it in sound' means to al-Dānī here. However, in his *Ğāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 345), he lists examples of what words are *hā'* *al-ta'nīt*, i.e., *raḥmeh*, *ni'meh*, *ğanneh*, *ḥabbeh*, *ma'ṣiyah*, *rubweh*, *mu'mineh*, *mūsadeh*, *darağeh*, *layleh*, *mīryeh*. The category of what resembles it are: *bāqiyeh*, *ḥāmiyeh*, *al-ğinneh*, *kāšifeh*, *bašīreh*, *humazeh*, *lumazeh*, *dābbeh*, *baldeh*, *qaryeh*, *ğurfeh*, *ṭamareh*, *baqareh*, *šağareh* and *ḥammāleh*. It is clear that in some of these categories the suffix is not felt as a 'feminine' suffix, thus *ğinnah*, *ṭamarah*, *baqarah* and *šağarah* are all singulative from the collective nouns *ğinn*, *ṭamar*, *baqar* and *šağar*. For others the classification into one group or the other is

(← *rabwatin*) (Q2:265; Q23:50), *ni'meh*# (← *ni'matvñ*) (e.g., Q8:53), *al-qiyāme*# (← *al-qiyāmatvñ*) (e.g., Q2:85), *la-ibreh*# (← *la-ibratvan*) (e.g., Q3:13), *al-āḥireh*# (← *al-āḥiratvñ*) (e.g., Q2:4), *ḥaṭi'eh*# (← *ḥaṭi'aṭin*) (Q96:16), *wiḡheh*# (← *wiḡhatun*) (Q2:148), *ḥaṭi'eh*# (← *ḥaṭi'atun*) (Q4:112), *al-malā'ikeh*# (← *al-malā'ikatvñ*) (e.g., Q2:31), *mušrikeh*# (← *mušrikatvñ*) (Q2:221; Q25:3), *al-'aykeh*# (← *al-'aykati*) (e.g., Q15:78), *fākiheh*# (← *fākihatvñ*) (e.g., Q36:57), *'āliheh*# (← *'ālihatvñ*) (e.g., Q6:19), *humazeh*# (← *humazatin*) (Q104:1), *lumazeh*# (← *lumazatin*) (Q104:1), *baṣireh* (← *baṣiratvñ*) (Q12:108; Q75:14) and what is like it.

However, (some transmitters transmit an absence of *'imālah*) if there occurs before the *hā'* one of the ten letters *tā'*, *ḏā'*, *ṣād*, *ḏād*, *hā'*, *ḡayn*, *qāf*, *'alif*, *'ayn*, *hā'*, for example, *baṣṭah*# (← *baṣṭatan*) (Q2:247), *maw'idah*# (← *maw'idatvñ*) (e.g., Q2:66), *ḥaṣāṣah*# (← *ḥaṣāṣatun*) (Q59:9), *qabḏah*# (← *qabḏatan*) (Q20:96), *aṣ-ṣāḥḥah*# (← *aṣ-ṣāḥḥatu*) (Q80:33), *al-bāliḡah*# (← *al-bāliḡatu*) (Q6:149), *al-ḥāqqah*# (← *al-ḥāqqatu*) (Q69:1, 2, 3), *aṣ-ṣalāḥ*# (← *aṣ-ṣalāt*) (e.g., Q2:3), *az-zakāḥ*# (← *az-zakāt*) (e.g., Q2:43), *al-ḥayāḥ*# (← *al-ḥayāt*) (e.g., Q2:85), *an-naḡāḥ*# (← *an-naḡāti*) (Q40:41), *manāḥ*# (← *manāta*) (Q53:20), *hayhāḥ*# (← *hayhāta*)⁵⁸ (Q23:36), *an-naṭiḥah*# (← *an-naṭiḥatu*) (Q5:3), *al-qāri'ah*# (← *al-qāri'atu*) (Q101:1, 2, 3) and what is like it, and if the *hā'* is preceded by

1. a *rā'* and (the letter) before the *rā'* carries a *fathah* or a *ḍammah*,
2. or a *hamzah* and (the letter) before it carries a *fathah* or is an *'alif*,
3. or a *hā'* and (the letter) before it is an *'alif*,
4. or a *kāf* and (the letter) before it carries a *ḍammah* or a *fathah*.

So, for the *rā'*, examples are the words *ḡamrah*# (← *ḡamratin*) (Q23:63; Q51:11), *ḥufrah*# (← *ḥufratin*) (Q3:103), *sūrah* (← *sūratvñ*) (e.g., Q9:64), *maḥṣūrah*# (← *maḥṣūratun*) (Q38:19), *bararah*# (← *bararatin*) (Q80:16), *'imārah*# (← *'imārata*) (Q9:20) and what is like it.

As for the *hamzah*, examples are the words *imra'ah*# (← *imra'atvñ*) (e.g., Q4:12), *barā'ah*# (← *barā'atun*) (Q9:1; Q54:43), *an-naš'ah*# (← *an-naš'ata*) (e.g., Q29:20), *saw'ah*# (← *saw'ata*) (Q5:31) and what is like it.

less obvious. For the present purposes, however, it suffices to say that any noun that ends in *tā'* *mar-būṭah* is eligible to be included in this *'imālah*.

⁵⁸ Note that this word is spelled *هيات* in the *rasm*.

For the *hā'*, in the word *safāhah*# (← *safāhatŷn*) (Q7:66, 67) and nothing else.

As for the *kāf*, for example, *at-tahlukah*# (← *at-tahlukati*) (Q2:195), *aš-šawkah* (← *aš-šawkati*) (Q8:7) and what is like it.

In these excepted cases, Ibn Muğāhid and his companions do not apply *'imālah* of the *hā'* and what precedes (i.e., *ṭā'*, *ḍā'*, *šād*, *dād*, *hā'*, *ğayn*, *qāf*, *'alif*, *'ayn*, *ḥā'*, *rā'*, *hamzah*, *hā'*, *kāf*). However, written transmission of these exceptions from al-Kisā'i is missing.^(P:54)

I recited it with full generalisation (i.e., even applying *'imālah* where the exceptions listed above are in place, e.g., *basteh*#, *aš-šāḥḥeh*%) to 'Abū al-Faṭḥ from his recitation to 'Abd al-Bāqī. The same was narrated to us by Muḥammad [b. 'Aḥmad] b. 'Alī, who said that it was narrated to him by Ibn al-'Anbārī who said that it was narrated to him by 'Idrīs from Ḥalaf from al-Kisā'i.⁵⁹

The first way (i.e., a generalised *'imālah* without exceptions) is what I prefer, except that, when the *hā'* is preceded by an *'alif*, *'imālah* is not allowed. The rest pause (on these words) with *fath*. Success comes from God.

U.15. The Manner of Warš for the *rā'*s, Summarised⁶⁰

Know that Warš applies *'imālah* to the *fathah* of the *rā'* a little bit in between the two sounds⁶¹ whenever it is immediately preceded by a *kasrah* that is essential (i.e., part of the word), or

⁵⁹ This *'isnād* is not present in U.4.7., nor is any transmission from al-Kisā'i through Ḥalaf present in the *Ġāmi'* *al-bayān* in the *'isnād* section. The same *'isnād* is cited in the section on the feminine ending *-eh*# with detailed citation of the report, which al-Dānī clearly reproduces verbatim from Ibn al-'Anbārī's *'Idāḥ al-waqf wa-l-ibtidā'* (Ibn al-'Anbārī 1971, 400–401; al-Dānī 2007, 764).

⁶⁰ As the precise realisation of the phoneme *r* is important here, for these sections (U.15., U.15.1., U.15.2.) I use the *ṛ* for the unemphatic *r* and *ṛ* for the emphatic *r*.

⁶¹ The terminology used by al-Dānī here is somewhat confusing, as the wording appears to imply that he raises the *a* slightly. In modern recitation Warš does not apply a slight *'imālah* but simply lacks emphasis on the *rā'* in the environments discussed in this section, whereas the other readers do (see for example the description of Ibn al-Ġazarī 2018, §2164-2228). The wording of this section along with the next could be interpreted as saying that Warš read these with unemphatic *rā'* and slightly fronted *ä*, whereas the other readers also read it with unemphatic *rā'* but with a regular *a*. The fact, however, that al-Dānī announces that it is the same for the *ḍammah* (which of course could not undergo *'imālah*) shows this description is talking about the unemphatic quality of the *rā'* rather than the vowel quality of the *fathah* and *ḍammah*.

an unvowelled letter with *kasrah* before it, or an unvowelled *yā'*. This is the case regardless of whether the *rā'* carries *tanwīn* or not.

So, as for those in which the *kasrah* comes right before the *rā'*, examples are the words of the Almighty *al-āḥīratv* (e.g., Q2:4), *bāsīratun* (Q75:24), *nāḍīratun* (Q75:22), *fāqīratun* (Q75:25), *tabṣīratun* (Q50:8), *mudabbīrātī* (Q79:5), *al-mu'ṣīrātī* (Q78:14), *ṭahhīrā* (Q2:125), *sāḥīrānī* (Q20:63), *mudbīran* (Q27:10; Q28:31), *ṣābīran* (Q18:69; Q38:44) and what is like it.

As for the case where between the *rā'* and the *kasrah* there is an unvowelled letter, examples are the words of the Almighty *aṣ-ṣī'ra* (Q36:69), *as-sihra* (e.g., Q2:102), *ad-dikra* (e.g., Q15:9), *sidratv* (Q53:14, 16), *ḍū mirratin* (Q53:6), *la-'ibratan* (e.g., Q3:13), and what is like it.

As for those where there is a *yā'* adjacent to the *rā'* regardless of whether the letter before (the *yā'*) carries a *fathah* or a *kasrah*, these are for example His words *al-ḥayrātī* (e.g., Q2:148), *ḥayrāna* (Q6:71), *al-ḥayra* (Q22:77), *ḡayrakum* (e.g., Q9:39), *al-muḡīrātī* (Q100:3), *al-faqīra* (Q22:28), *ḥabīran* (e.g., Q4:35), *baṣīran* (e.g., Q4:58), *naḍīran* (e.g., Q2:119), *ḥayran* (e.g., Q2:158), *ṭayran* (Q105:3), *sayran* (Q52:10) and what is like it.

He violates his manner with the *kasrah* in both cases (i.e., with an intervening letter or without), in the words *aṣ-ṣīrātī* (e.g., Q1:6) and *ṣīrātīn* (e.g., Q2:142), whenever they occur, and *al-fīrāqu* (Q75:28), *fīrāqu baynī* (Q18:78), *al-iṣrāqī* (Q38:18), *'īrādan* (Q4:128), *'īrāduhum* (Q6:35), *midrāran* (e.g., Q6:6), *'isrāran* (Q71:9), *ḍīrāran* (Q2:231; Q9:107), *fīrāran* (e.g., Q18:18), *'ibrāhīmī* (e.g., Q2:124), *'isrā'ilī* (Q2:40), *'imrāna* (e.g., Q3:33), *'irama ḍātī* (Q89:7), *'imran* (Q18:71), *ḍikran* (Q2:200), *siṭran* (Q18:90), *wizran* (Q20:100), *ṣihran* (Q25:54), *ḥiḡran* (Q25:22), *'israhūm* (Q7:157), *'isran* (Q2:286), *miṣra* (Q10:87), *miṣran* (Q2:61), *qīṭran* (Q18:96), *fiṭrata llāhi* (Q30:30), *wiqran* (Q51:2) and what is similar to these examples.^(P:55)

So, the *fathah* is fully pronounced on the *rā'* for all of these because of the presence of an emphatic or uvular letter (*ḥarf al-isti'lā'*) (i.e., ṣ, ṭ, ḍ, ḍ, q, ḥ, ḡ), or because they are foreign words or because of the repeated *rā'* that carries a *fathah* or *ḍammah*.⁶²

⁶² Or because the word ends in *iṭran* with *tanwīn* which accounts for *'imran*, *ḍikran*, *siṭran*, *wizran*, *ṣihran* and *ḥiḡran*. It appears that al-Dānī forgot to mention the reason for the exception of this category. He does mention it explicitly in *Ġāmi' al-bayān*, although it is a point of disagreement between his teachers (al-Dānī 2007, 778).

The rule for the *rā'* carrying a *ḍammah* with a *kasrah* (before it) that is part of the word formation or an unvowelled *yā'*—for his (Warš's) manner—is identical to the rule for (a *rā'*) carrying a *fathah*, for example, *yusīrūna* (e.g., Q2:77), *mundīrun* (e.g., Q13:7), *qadīrun* (e.g., Q2:20), *baṣīrun* (e.g., Q2:96), *ḥabīrun* (Q2:234), *ḥayrun* (Q2:54), *ḍikrun* (e.g., Q7:63), *bikrun* (Q2:68) and what is like it.

There is no disagreement in transmission from him on the pure pronunciation of the *fathah* of the *rā'* when the *kasrah* is not part of the word formation; for example, *bi-rasūlin* (Q61:6), *li-rasūlin* (e.g., Q3:183), *bi-raṣīdin* (Q11:97), *li-rabbika* (e.g., Q37:149), *bi-ru'ūsikum* (Q5:6), *li-ruqiyyika* (Q17:93), and what is like it.

He also applies *'imālah* to the *fathah* of the *rā'* in His speech in al-Mursalāt (Q77:32) *bi-ṣarāfin* because of the *ḡarraḥ* on the second *rā'* that comes after it. But he pronounced it with pure *fath* in His speech *'ulī ḍ-ḍarāfi* in al-Nisā' (Q4:95) because of the *ḍād* before it. The rest read with pure *fath* (i.e., with emphatic *r*) in all that has preceded.^(P:56)

U.15.1. Subsection: [The Emphatic *rā'* Is Preceded by *u* or *a*]

Every *rā'* which has *fathah* or *ḍammah* before it—whether an unvowelled letter intervenes between or not—and the *rā'* itself) carries a *fathah* or a *ḍammah* or is unvowelled, it is emphatic (*mufahḥam*) with agreement (among all the readers); for example, *ḥaḍara l-mawtu* (Q2:19), *turaddūna* (Q9:94), *yaṣuddūkum* (Q3:149), *al-ʿusṛati* (Q9:117), *al-yusṛa* (Q2:185), *maṣḡiʿukum* (e.g., Q3:55), *kuṣṣiyyihī* (Q38:34) and what is like it.

Likewise, this occurs with an unvowelled *rā'* if it is preceded by an accidental *kasrah* (i.e., a vowel that connects the two words, epenthetic or otherwise, which is not part of the same word) or if an emphatic or uvular letter (*ḥarf istiʿlā'*, i.e., *ḥ, ḡ, q, t, ṣ, ḍ, ḍ*) occurs after it; for example, *'am iṭṭābū* (Q24:50), *yā bunayyi rḥab ma'anā* (Q11:42), *'iṣṣādan* (Q9:107), *miṣṣādan* (Q78:21), *fīṣṣatin* (Q9:122), *qīṣṣāsin* (Q6:7), and what is like it.

But if the *kasrah* that is before it is essential (i.e., part of the word), and there is no emphatic or uvular letter after it, then it is pronounced without emphasis, for example, *miṣṣatin* (e.g., Q11:17), *ṣiṣ'atan* (Q5:48), *fīṣ'awn* (e.g., Q2:49), *al-iṣṣati* (Q24:31) and what is like it.

It is like that (that it is not pronounced emphatically) for each *rā'* that carries a *kasrah*, whether the *kasrah* is essential (i.e., a case vowel as in *al-musahḥari*, Q2:164) or accidental

(i.e., epenthetic as in *lam yuḏkaʾ ismu*, Q6:121). There is no disagreement in that case on the lack of emphasis in connected speech.

There is a rule for when (the *rāʾ*) comes at the end of a word and (its *kasrah*) is essential, in pause that I will present next, if God Almighty wills it.

U.15.2. Subsection: [Emphasis of *rāʾ* in Pause]

As for pausing on the *rāʾ* that carries a *fathah* or a *ḍammah* or no vowel, when it occurs on the end of a word, it is as if it were pronounced in connected speech. So, if you pronounce it (in connected speech) as unemphatic, it will be unemphatic (in pause) and if you pronounced it (in connected speech) as emphatic, it will be emphatic (in pause), regardless of whether you hint at the final vowel *ḍammah* with *rawm* or *ʾišmām*⁶³ or do not hint at it, as long as it is not preceded by *kasrah* or *yāʾ*. In that case (i.e., when *kasrah* or *yāʾ* precedes), if you pause on it with *rawm* specifically (and not *ʾišmām*), in the manner of (all the readers) other than Warš, it is emphatic; without it (*rawm*) it is unemphatic (e.g., Q3:129 *yaġfir*^u# but with regular pause it is *fa-yaġfir*# and with *ʾišmām* it is *fa-yaġfir*^w#).

As for the *rāʾ* that carries a *kasrah*, there are two options: if you apply *rawm* of the vowel, you pronounce it unemphatic, like in connected speech (e.g., Q2:164 *al-musahḥar*ⁱ#); if you pause on it with no vowel, you make it emphatic (e.g., *al-musahḥar*#) as long as there is no *kasrah* or unvowelled *yāʾ* before it, for example, in His speech *munhamir*# (Q54:11), *naḍir*# (e.g., Q5:19), nor a *fathah* that has undergone *ʾimālah* (e.g., *an-nēr*#, Q2:39),⁶⁴ or, for example, words like *bi-šarar*# (Q77:32) according to the reading of Warš.⁶⁵ (In those cases) you pronounce it without emphasis in both connected speech and pause. Success comes from God. ^(P:57)

⁶³ See U.8.1.2.

⁶⁴ See U.13.4.

⁶⁵ Warš does not have an emphatic *r* in several environments where the general rules would predict it (see U.15.).

U.16. The *lāms*

Know that Warš makes the *lām* thick (i.e., emphatic) when it carries a *fathah* and before it was *šād*, *ḏā'* or *ṭā'* and those three letters either carry a *fathah* or are unvowelled, and nothing else.⁶⁶

As for the *šād*, there are, for example, His words *aṣ-ṣalāt* (e.g., Q2:3), *muṣallan* (Q2:125), *fa-yuṣṣabu* (Q12:41), *fa-ṣallā* (Q87:15) and what is like it.

As for the *ḏā'*, for example, *wa-ḏidā 'aḏlama* (Q2:20), *yudlamūna* (e.g., Q2:281), *bi-ḏallāmin* (e.g., Q3:182) and what is like it.

As for the *ṭā'*, for example, *aṭ-ṭalāq* (Q2:227, 229), *mu'atṭalatin* (Q22:45), *baṭala* (Q7:118) and what is like it.

If a *lām* occurs with a *šād* in a word and it is the last word of a verse in a *sūrah* that ends its verses in *yā'*—for example, *wa-lā ṣallā* (Q75:31), *fa-ṣallā* (Q87:15)—both the thickening and thin pronunciation (*tarqīq*) are allowed (i.e., *ṣallā*, *fa-ṣallā*, or *ṣallā*, *fa-ṣallā* to agree with the rhyme). But the thin pronunciation is more regular so that the verses have the same sound.⁶⁷

Likewise, if the *lām* occurs at the end of a word and (one of) the three letters (i.e., *ṣ*, *ḏ* and *ṭ*) comes before it, it is possible to pause on it with either thick or thin pronunciation (for example in a word like Q2:249 where both *faṣal*# and *faṣal*# would be allowed); thickening is more regular, in accordance with (the pronunciation in) connected speech. The rest read it with *fath* of this *lām* without full pronunciation (*'iṣbā'*),⁶⁸ whenever it occurs.

They all agree on the thickening of the *lām* from the name of *Allāh* Almighty with *fathah* or *ḏammah* (before it), for example in His speech *qāla llāhu* (e.g., Q3:55), *rusulu llāhi*

⁶⁶ In the case where an *'alif* stands in between the emphatic letter and the *lām*, there is an option to make the *lām* emphatic, and al-Dānī calls this the preferable option in the *Ġāmi'* *al-bayān* (*'awḡah*) (al-Dānī 2007, 789). Here, al-Dānī presents only the non-emphatic option.

⁶⁷ Al-Dānī's argumentation why the form without emphasis is more regular implies that adding emphasis would break the rhyme, thus suggesting that *ṣallā* becomes *ṣallā*. It is made explicit in the *Ġāmi'* *al-bayān* that *ā* cannot coexist next to the *ll* in such cases (al-Dānī 2007, 788–89). Note that this is not an issue with other emphatic consonants next to *ā*, e.g. Q92:14 *talaḏḏā*.

⁶⁸ The word *'iṣbā'* from the context clearly means 'emphatic pronunciation'. The term is usually employed to refer to a vowel being given its full length (as opposed to *iḥtilās*, which refers to a realisation shorter than its inherent length). But that clearly cannot be the intended meaning here.

(Q6:125), *qālū ʔllāhumma* (Q8:32) and what is like it, and on the thin pronunciation (of the *lām*), if a *kasrah* precedes it in connected speech, such as in the words of the Almighty *bi-smi llāhi* (e.g., Q1:1), *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi* (e.g., Q1:2), *qul illāhumma* (Q3:26; Q39:46) and what is like it.

The remainder of the *lāms* are like this (i.e., unemphatic); there is no disagreement in their light pronunciation, whether they carry a vowel or not. Success comes from God.

U.17. The Pause at the Endings of Words

Know that it is the custom of the readers to pause on the end of words that carry vowels in connected speech with no vowel and nothing else because that is the default.^(P:58)

There is the transmission from the Kufans (‘Āṣim, al-Kisā’ī, Ḥamzah) and ‘Abū ‘Amr in pause, where there is an allusion to the final vowel, regardless of whether it is a case vowel or part of the stem formation. This allusion is *rawm* or *ʔišmām*. As for the rest, no such an account comes from them at all.

Most of our teachers from among the people of oral tradition prefer to pause in their manners with this allusion (to the case vowel), because of the clarity it gives.

As for the meaning of *rawm*, it is when you weaken the sound of the vowel until it has gone almost completely, so that you will hear it as a concealed sound. A blind person can perceive it with his sense of hearing.

As for the meaning of *ʔišmām*, you bunch up your lips after pronouncing the letter as vowelless according to the default (of pausing). A blind person cannot perceive that information, because it is seen with the eye and nothing else. For it is only a gesture with the articulator towards the vowel.

So as for the *rawm*, according to the reciters,⁶⁹ it is applied to *rafʿ*, *ḍamm*, *ḥafḍ* or *kasr*, and they do not employ it for *naṣb* or *fath* because of their lightness.

As for *ʔišmām*, it only occurs for the *rafʿ* and *ḍamm*, and nothing else.

By our word pairs, ‘the *rafʿ*, *ḍamm*, *ḥafḍ*, *kasr*, *naṣb* and *fath*’, we intend the vowel of *ʔirāb* that is changeable and the essential vowel of the word-formation, respectively.

⁶⁹ This references a famous disagreement between the reciters and the grammarians. The grammarians say that *fath/naṣb* can also undergo *rawm* (Sibawayh 1988, IV:171).

U.17.1. Subsection: [Pause on Plural Pronouns, Epenthetic Vowels and the Feminine Ending]

As for accidental vowels (i.e., epenthetic vowels) and the vowel of the *mīm* of plurality (i.e., *-humū/-himū*, *-kumū*, *-tumū*, *humū*, *ʾantumū*) in the manner of those who place a *ḍammah* on it as part of their principle,⁷⁰ it is incorrect to allude to them with *rawm* or *ʾišmām*, because they go away in pause by default.

The same is true for the *hāʾ* of the feminine ending, which is not given *rawm* nor *ʾišmām* because it is not followed by a vowel. There is no part of it that has a vowel. Success comes from God.^(P:59)

U.18. The Pause on What Is Written in the *rasm*

Know that the transmission we have from Nāfiʿ, ʾAbū ʿAmr and the Kufans, in terms of how they pause on what is written in the *rasm*, is well-established.

We do not have such transmission at all from Ibn Kaṭīr or Ibn ʿĀmir. The choice of our imams is that they pause in their manner on the *rasm* in the way that it was transmitted from them (i.e., Nāfiʿ, ʾAbū ʿAmr and the Kufans). Disagreement has come down to us from them in certain places; I will mention them briefly, if God wills it.

So for all those feminine endings that are written in the *muṣḥafs* originally with a *tāʾ*—for example, *ابنت*, *ايت*, *امرات*, *غيت*, *كلت*, *جنت*, *ثمرت*, *شجرت*, *رحمت*, *نعمت* and what is like it—al-Kisāʾī and ʾAbū ʿAmr pause on them with a *hāʾ* (i.e., *niʿma/eh#*, etc.). It is by analogy that it is taken to be the manner of Ibn Kaṭīr because al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥubāb⁷¹ asked al-Bazzī about the pause of His speech *ṭamaratin min ʾakmāmihā* (Q41:47) and he said it was with a *hāʾ*.

Al-Kisāʾī pauses with a *hāʾ* for *مرضات* (i.e., *marḍēh#*) (e.g., Q2:207) whenever it occurs, and on *اللّٰه والعزى* (i.e., *allāh#*) (Q53:19), *ذات بهجة* (i.e., *dāh#*) (Q27:60),⁷² *لات حين* (i.e., *lāh#*) (Q38:3), *هيات هيات* (i.e., *hayhāh#*) (Q23:36). Al-Bazzī follows him in this only for *هيات هيات*, so he pauses on both of them with a *hāʾ*.

⁷⁰ See F.2:173. for the *ḍammah* as an epenthetic vowel and see U.7.1. for the *mīm* of(?) plurality.

⁷¹ Ibn al-Ḥubāb is not mentioned in the *ʾisnāds* in F.4.2.2., but there are multiple transmission paths recorded for him in the *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 310–11).

⁷² Note that *dāt* has this pausal form only in this verse and nowhere else according to this transmission.

Ibn Kaṭīr and Ibn ‘Āmir pause on يَابِت with a *hā’* (i.e., *yā ’abah#*) (e.g., Q12:4) whenever it occurs.

The rest pause in these cases with a *tā’* for all of them, following the writing of the *muṣḥaf*.

‘Abū ‘Amr, along the transmission of Ibn al-Yazīdī from his father [al-Yazīdī] from him [‘Abū ‘Amr] paused on His speech كَيْن (*ka-’ayyin*) in the whole Qur’ān with a *yā’* (i.e., *ka-’ayy#*) (e.g., Q3:146). The rest pause on the *nūn* (i.e., *ka-’ayyin#* or *kā’in#*).⁷³ (P:60)

Al-Kisā’ī in the transmission of al-Dūrī and the other one (i.e., al-Layṭ) for His speech وَيَكُنَ اللَّهُ (*wayka’anna llāha*) (Q28:82) and وَيَكُنْهُ (*wayka’annahū*) (Q28:82) pauses separating at the *yā’* (i.e., *way# ka’anna*). It was transmitted from ‘Abū ‘Amr that he pauses on the *kāf* (i.e., *wayk# ’anna*). The rest pause on the word, connecting the elements together (i.e., *wayka’ann#* and *wayka’annah#*).

‘Abū ‘Amr, in the transmission of ‘Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān [Ibn al-Yazīdī] from his father from him [‘Abū ‘Amr] pauses in His speech فَالْهَـٰذَا هُوَ (*fa-mā li-hā ’ulā’i*) (Q4:78), مَالِ هَٰذَا الْكِتَابِ (*mā li-hāḍà l-kitābī*) (Q18:49), مَالِ هَٰذَا الرَّسُولِ (*mā li-hāḍà r-rasūlī*) (Q25:7), فَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا (*fa-mā li-llaḍīna kafarū*) (Q70:36) on the *mā#* without the *lām* in these four (places). There is disagreement on that point in transmission from al-Kisā’ī. It has been transmitted from him with pause on *mā#* and on the *lām* (i.e., *māl#*). The rest pause on the *lām* connecting the elements together (i.e., *māl#*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī pause with His speech اِيْمًا تَدْعُو (*’ayyan mā tad’ū*) (Q17:110) on the *’ayyan* without the *mā* and they substitute the *tanwīn* with an *’alif* (i.e., *’ayyā#*). The rest pause on *mā* (i.e., *’ayyam-mā#*).⁷⁴

⁷³ For the variant reading *kā’in* see F.3:146.

⁷⁴ Modern print editions spell this word in the classical manner اِيْمًا, but the disagreement on the pausal form does not make much sense with this spelling. The disagreement rather seems to imply a univerted spelling اِيْمَا which some readers pause upon univerted, sticking to the *rasm*, while Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī deviate from the *rasm* by treating them as separate words. This spelling is indeed attested in several early manuscripts (e.g., Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Wetzstein II 1913, 111v, l. 13; Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Or. 771, 8r, l. 3; Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, Emanet 13, 103r, l. 20; Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, Saray Medina 1b, 62v, l. 11; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, arabe 334(c), 47r, l. 18).

'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i pause with His speech إيه المؤمنين in al-Nūr (Q24:31), يايه الساحر in al-Zuḥruf (Q43:49), إيه الثقلان in al-Raḥmān (Q55:31) with an 'alif for the three of them (i.e., 'ayyuhā#). The rest pause without an 'alif (i.e., 'ayyuh#).

Al-Kisā'i is the only one who pauses on واد النمل (Q27:18) with a yā' (i.e., wādī#); the rest pause without the yā' (i.e., wād#).

As for the remaining words in this topic, they will come in their place (in the part on the *Farš al-ḥurūf*, F.2.–114.), if God Almighty wills it.

U.18.1. Subsection

Al-Bazzī is alone in adding a *hā'* of silence while pausing on *mā* (i.e., *mah*#) when it is a question word and when it is next to a preposition; for example, in His speech *fa-li-ma taq-tulūna* (Q2:91), *li-ma taqūlūna* (Q61:2), *fī-ma 'anta* (Q79:43), *mīm-ma ḥuliqa* (Q86:5), *fa-bi-ma tubašširūna* (Q15:54), *bi-ma yarḡi'u* (Q27:35), *'am-ma yatasā'alūna* (Q78:1) and what is like it, so he pauses (them as) *fa-li-mah*#, *fī-mah*#, *mīm-mah*#, *fa-bi-mah*#, *bi-mah*# and *'am-mah*#. The rest pause with a *mīm* not followed by a vowel (i.e., *lim*#, *fīm*#, *mīm*#, *fabim*#, *bim*#, *'amm*#). Success comes from God.^(P:61)

U.19. The Manner of Ḥamzah on the Silence on the Vowellessness before the *hamzah*

Know that Ḥamzah, in the transmission of Ḥalaf, is silent after an unvowelled letter at the end of a word, if it is not a long vowel, and a *hamzah* comes after it (in the next word), with a brief silence without a strong break (i.e., taking a breath) in order to articulate the *hamzah* clearly. This is the case for example in His speech *man* <silence> 'āmana (Q2:62), *hal* <silence> 'atēka (Q20:9), 'alayhum <silence> 'a-'andartahum <silence> 'am (Q2:6; Q36:10), *naba'a bnay* <silence> 'ādama (Q5:27), *ḥalaw* <silence> 'ilā šayāṭīnahum (Q2:14), *qad* <silence> 'aflaḥa (e.g., Q20:64), *min šay* <silence> 'in⁷⁵ <silence> 'id (Q46:26), *ḥamiyatun* <silence> // 'alhēkum (Q101:11–Q102:1)⁷⁶ and what is like it.

⁷⁵ The silence introduced here within a word is discussed below.

⁷⁶ Note that this example assumes a transition from one *sūrah* to the next without the *basmalah* in between. This is typical in the recitation of Ḥamzah as discussed in U.6.

Like that is *al- <silence> 'āḥiratv* (e.g., Q2:4), *al- <silence> 'arḍv* (Q2:11), *al- <silence> 'āzifatv* (Q40:18; Q53:57), *al- <silence> 'āna* (e.g., Q2:71) and what is like it, because it behaves as if it is in between two words.

If there is a vowelless letter with a *hamzah* within a word, then you do not introduce a silence on the vowelless letter except for one general rule, and it is for what belongs to the word *šay' <silence> u/in* and *šay' <silence> an* and nothing else.

'Abū 'Amr [al-Dānī] said: I recited it to 'Abū al-Ḥasan [Ibn Ḡalbūn] in both (i.e., Ḥamzah's) transmissions with a silence on the *lām* of the definite article and *šay'* and *šay'an* whenever they occur and nothing else.⁷⁷

The rest read in context the *sākin* followed by *hamzah* without a silence. The manner of Warš has already been mentioned before. Success comes from God.^(P:62)

U.20. Their Manners in the *fath* and the '*iskān* of the *yā's* of Annexation

Know that there is a group (of words with the 1sg. suffix) which are disagreed upon. There are 214 *yā's* (like that):

1. In the case of a (following) *hamzah* that carries the *fathah* there are 99;
2. In the case of a (following *hamzah*) that carries a *kasrah* there are 52;
3. In the case of a (following *hamzah*) that carries a *ḍammah* there are ten;
4. In the case of a (following) '*alif al-waṣl* which has a *lām* after it there are 16;
5. In the case (of a following '*alif al-waṣl* that) does not have a *lām* after it there are seven.
6. And with those words that remain, altogether, there are 30.

We will mention it in what is to come in each *sūrah* in this group with the disagreements that are in it, explained for each *yā'*.

We will collect here their general principles and point out exceptions to them, so that (these exceptions) can be remembered together and (otherwise) analogy can be applied to what is transmitted, if God wills it.

⁷⁷ This is indeed what 'Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḡalbūn describes (Ibn Ḡalbūn 1991, II:247). This '*isnād* does not appear in the *tilāwah* '*isnād* section for Ḥallād (U.4.6.2.), nor does the Ḡāmi' *al-bayān* have an '*isnād* through him for the transmission of Ḥallād.

U.20.1. Subsection: [The *yā'* Followed by a *hamzah* Carrying a *fathah*]

Know that to every *yā'* after which there is a *hamzah* that carries a *fathah*—for example in His speech *'innī 'a'lamu* (e.g., Q2:30), *'annī 'aḥluqu* (Q3:49), *lī 'an 'aqūla* (Q5:116), and what is like it—the two of the holy cities (Nāfi' and Ibn Kaṭīr) and 'Abū 'Amr apply a *fathah* whenever it occurs (i.e., *'inniya 'a'lamu*, *'anniya 'aḥluqu*, *liya 'an 'aqūla*).

Ibn Kaṭīr is alone in applying the *fathah* to three *yā'*s: in al-Baqarah (Q2:152) *faḍkurūniya 'aḍkurukumū*, in Gāfir *ḍarūniya 'aqtul* (Q40:26) and *ud'ūniya 'astaḡib lakumū* (Q40:60).

He violates his principle in both of his transmissions after this (condition) in ten places, so he does not place a vowel on the *yā'* on it (even though the principle predicts it):

1. in 'Āl 'Imrān (Q3:41) and
2. Maryam (Q19:10) *iğ'al lī 'āyatan*,
3. in Hūd (Q11:78) *fī ḍayfī 'alyasa*,
4. in Yūsuf (Q12:36) *'innī 'arāniya*
5. in two places (in this verse); I mean the *yā'* of *'innī*, without the one of *'arāniya* (which does receive a *fathah*),
6. and *ḥattā ya'ḍunu lī 'abiya* (Q12:80), I mean the *yā'* of *lī*,^(P:63)
7. and *sabīlī 'ad'ū* (Q12:108),
8. in Kahf (Q18:102) *min dūnī 'awliyā'a*,
9. in Tāhā (Q20:26) *yassir lī 'amrī*, and
10. in al-Naml (Q27:40) *li-yabluwanī 'āṣkuru*.

Qunbul transmitting from him (Ibn Kaṭīr) adds seven locations where he does not place a vowel on the *yā'*:

1. in Hūd (Q11:29)
2. and al-'Aḥqāf (Q46:23) *wa-lākinni 'arānī*,
3. in *faṭaranī 'a-fa-lā* (Q11:51)
4. and *'innī 'arākumū* (Q11:84),
5. in al-Naml (Q27:19) *'awzi'nī 'an*, and
6. in al-Zuḥruf (Q43:51) *min taḥtī 'a-fa-lā*.

7. 'Abū Rabī'ah transmits from Qunbul and from al-Bazzī in al-Qaṣaṣ (Q28:78) 'indī 'a-wa-lam with no vowel (on the yā'). He is alone (in doing so).⁷⁸

Nāfi' is alone in applying the *fathah* on two yā's:

1. in Yūsuf (Q12:108) *hādīhi sabīliya 'ad'ū*
2. and in al-Naml (Q27:40) *li-yabluwaniya 'ā(.a)škuru*.

Warš transmits from him 'awzi'niya (Q27:19; Q46:15) in two *sūrah*s with a *fathah*. Qālūn transmits from him the two words with no vowel (on the yā') (i.e., 'awzi'nī).

'Abū 'Amr violates his principle in nine places. So, he does not apply a vowel to the yā':

1. in Hūd (Q11:51) *faṭarani 'a-fa-lā*,
2. in Yūsuf *la-yahzununī 'an* (Q12:31)
3. and *sabīlī 'ad'ū* (Q12:108),
4. in Ṭāhā (Q20:125) *lima ḥašartanī 'a'mā*,
5. in al-Naml 'awzi'nī 'an (Q27:19)
6. and *li-yabluwanī 'ā-.aškuru* (Q27:40),
7. in al-Zumar (Q39:64) *ta'/āmurunnī 'a'budu*,
8. in al-'Aḥqāf 'awzi'nī 'an (Q46:15)
9. and 'ata'idānini 'an (Q46:17).

Ibn 'Āmir applied the *fathah* in both of his transmissions to eight yā's:^(P:64)

1. *la'alliya* whenever it occurs (Q12:46;
2. Q20:10;
3. Q23:100;
4. Q28:29,
5. 38;
6. Q40:36),
7. in al-Tawbah (Q9:83) *ma'iya 'abadan*,
8. in al-Mulk (Q67:28) *wa-man ma'iya 'aw raḥimanā* and nothing else.

⁷⁸ The transmission of 'Abū Rabī'ah for Qunbul is not present in U.4.2.1., but can be found in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 306).

Ibn Ḍakwān, transmitting from him, adds to it in Hūd (Q11:92) *'a-raḥṭiya 'a'azzu*. Hišām, transmitting from him, adds to it *mā liya 'ad'ūkum* in Ġāfir (Q40:41).

Ḥafṣ applies a *fatḥah* to two *yā's* in al-Tawbah (Q9:83) and al-Mulk (67:28) *ma'īya* and nothing else. The rest does not apply a vowel to the *yā'* (in this context) in all of the Qur'ān.

U.20.2. Subsection: [The *yā'* Followed by a *hamzah* Carrying a *kasrah*]

For each *yā'* with a *hamzah* that carries a *kasrah* after it—for example, in the words of the Almighty *minniya 'illā* (Q2:249), *minniya 'innaka* (Q3:35), *yadiya 'ilayka* (Q5:28), *rabbiya 'ilā ṣirāṭin* (Q6:161) and what is like it—Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr add a *fatḥah* to it in all of the Qur'ān.

Nāfi' is alone, excluding him ('Abū 'Amr), in applying the *fatḥah* in eight places:

1. in 'Āl 'Imrān (Q3:52), and
2. al-Ṣaff (Q61:41) *min 'anṣāriya 'ilā llāhi*,
3. in al-Ḥiğr (Q15:71) *banātiya 'in kuntum*,
4. in al-Kahf (Q18:69),
5. al-Qaṣaṣ (Q28:27) and
6. al-Ṣāffāt (Q37:102) *sa-tağiduniya 'in šā'a llāhu*,
7. in al-Šu'arā' (Q26:52) *bi-'ibādiya 'innakum*, and
8. in Šād (Q38:78) *la'natiya 'ilā*.

Warš transmitting from him adds to it in Yūsuf (Q12:100) *wa-biya 'iḥwatiya 'inna*.

Ibn Kaṭīr applies the *fatḥah* from among these on two *yā's*:

1. in Yūsuf (Q12:38) *'ābā'iya 'ibrāhīma*
2. and in Nūḥ (Q71:6) *du'ā'iya 'illā* and nothing else.

Ibn 'Āmir applies the *fatḥah* to 15 *yā's*:

1. *'ağriya 'illā* whenever it occurs (Q10:72;
2. Q11:29,
3. 51;
4. Q26:109,
5. 127,
6. 145,

7. 164,
8. 180;
9. Q34:47),^(P:65)
10. in Mā'idah (Q5:116) *wa-ʾummiya ʾilāhayni*,
11. in Hūd (Q11:88) *wa-mā tawfīqiya ʾillā*,
12. in Yūsuf *wa-ḥuzniya ʾilā llāhi* (Q12:86)
13. and ʾābāʾiya ʾibrāhima (Q12:38),
14. in al-Muḡādilah (Q58:21) *wa-rusuliya ʾinna llāha*,
15. in Nūḥ (Q71:6) *duʿāʾiya ʾillā* and nothing else.

Ḥafṣ applies the *fathah* to the *yāʾ* of ʾaḡriya ʾillā (e.g., Q10:72) whenever it occurs. In Mā'idah *yadiya ʾilayka* (Q5:28) and *wa-ʾummiya ʾilāhayni* (Q5:116) and nothing else. The rest does not apply a vowel to the *yāʾ* (in this context) in all the Qurʾān.

U.20.3. Subsection: [The *yāʾ* with a *hamzah* Carrying a *ḍammah* after It]

For each *yāʾ* with a *hamzah* that carries a *ḍammah* after it—for example, in the words of the Almighty *wa-ʾinniya ʾuʿīḍuhā bika* (Q3:36), *ʾinniya ʾumirtu* (Q6:14; Q39:11) and what is like it—Nāfiʿ applies a *fathah* to it whenever it occurs. The rest does not apply a vowel to the *yāʾ* (in this context) in all the Qurʾān.

U.20.4. Subsection: [The *yāʾ* with a Definite Article after It]

For each *yāʾ* with an *ʾalif* and a *lām* after it—for example in the words of the Almighty *rabbī llaḏī* (Q2:258), *ʾātānī l-kitāba* (Q19:30), *ʾibādī ṣ-ṣāliḥūna* (Q21:105) and what is like it—Ḥamzah does not place a vowel on it whenever it occurs.

Al-Kisāʾī follows him in not placing a vowel (on the *yāʾ*) in three places:

1. in ʾIbrāhīm (Q14:31) *qul li-ʾibādī llaḏīna*,
2. in ʿAnkabūt (Q29:56)
3. and in al-Zumar (Q39:53) *yāʿ ibādī llaḏīna*.

ʾAbū ʿAmr follows him in two places:

1. in ʿAnkabūt (Q29:56),
2. in al-Zumar (Q39:53) and nothing else.

Ibn 'Āmir follows him in also two places:

1. in al-'A'rāf (Q7:146) 'an 'āyātī llaḍīna
2. and in 'Ibrāhīm (Q14:31) qul li-'ibādī llaḍīna only.^(P:66)

Ḥafṣ follows him for His words in al-Baqarah (Q2:124) 'ahdī d-ḍālimīna and nothing else.

The rest place the *fathah* on the *yā'* whenever it occurs.

'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī] is unique in applying the *fathah* and retaining the *yā'* in pause without a vowel (a *yā'* that is absent in the *rasm*) in al-Zumar (Q39:17–18) *fa-baššir 'ibādiya // llaḍīna* (and *fa-baššir 'ibādī#* in pause). The rest removed (the *yā'*) in connected speech and pause.⁷⁹

The disagreement concerning the words of the Almighty *fa-mā 'ātānī llāhu* (Q28:36) will come in its position (in the specific variants section) if God wills it.

All of them (i.e., including Ḥamzah) apply the *fathah* to the *yā'* in three phrases regularly (i.e., whenever they occur) and nine individual words. So, the regular phrases are His words:

1. *nī'matiya llatī* (Q2:40, 47, 122),
2. *ḥasbiya llāhu* (Q9:129; Q39:38), and
3. *šurakā'īya llaḍīna* (Q16:27; Q18:52; Q28:62, 74) whenever they occur.

The (specific) words are:

1. the first in 'Āl 'Imrān *wa-qad balaḡaniya l-kibaru* (Q3:40),
2. in al-'A'rāf *fa-lā tušmit biya l-'a'dā'a* (Q7:150),
3. *mā massaniya s-sū'u* (Q7:188) and
4. *'inna waliyyīya llāhu* (Q7:196),
5. in al-Ḥiğr *massaniya l-kibaru* (Q15:54),
6. in Saba' *'arūniya llaḍīna* (Q34:27),
7. in al-Mu'min *rabbīya llāhu* (Q40:28) and
8. *lammā ḡā'aniya l-bayyinātu* (Q40:66), and
9. in al-Taḥrīm *nabba'aniya l-'alīmu l-ḥabīru* (Q66:3).

⁷⁹ The word is spelled without a final *yā'*, i.e., عباد.

U.20.5. Subsection: [The *yā'* Followed by an '*alif al-waṣl* Which Does Not Belong to the Definite Article]

As for each *yā'* with an isolated '*alif* after it, for example, in the words '*innī ṣṭafaytuka* (Q7:144), '*aḥī // ṣḍud* (Q20:30) and what is like it (the treatment is as follows):

Nāfi' does not pronounce a vowel after the *yā'* for three of those (but applies *fathah* to all other cases):

1. '*innī ṣṭafaytuka* (Q7:144),
2. '*aḥī // ṣḍud* (Q20:30–31),
3. *yā laytanī ttaḥattu* (Q25:27) and nothing else (i.e., all other cases were pronounced with *-iya*).

Ibn Kaṭīr only pronounces (the *yā'*) of *yā laytanī ttaḥattu* (Q25:27) vowelless in both of his transmissions, and nowhere else (where he applies *fathah* instead).^(P:67)

In the transmission of Qunbul (there is also) '*inna qawmī ttaḥadu* (Q25:30) and nothing else (i.e., all other cases were pronounced with *-iya*).

'Abū 'Amr applies the *fathah* to the *yā'* whenever it occurs.

Šu'bah applies the *fathah* only to *min ba'diya smuhū* (Q61:6).

The rest does not apply a vowel to the *yā'* whenever it occurs.

U.20.6. Subsection: [The Remainder]

As for what comes with a *yā'* among what remains of the letters of the alphabet (following it), for example, in the words of the Almighty *baytī* (e.g., Q2:125), *waḡḥī* (Q3:20; Q6:79), *mamātī* (Q6:162), *lī* (e.g., Q2:152) and what is like it:

Nāfi', in both of his transmissions, applies a *fathah* to seven of these:

1. *baytiya* in al-Baqarah (Q2:125),
2. and al-Ḥaḡḡ (Q22:26),
3. *waḡhiya* in 'Āl 'Imrān (Q3:20)
4. and al-'An'ām (Q6:79),
5. *mamātiya li-llāhi* in that (same *sūrah*, Q6:162),
6. *māliya* in Yā-Sīn (Q36:22), and
7. *wa-liya dīni* in al-Kāfirūn (Q109:6).

Warṣ, transmitting from him, added to it, and so he applies a *fathah* to four (more words):

1. in al-Baqarah *li-yūminū biya* (Q2:186),
2. in Ṭā-Hā (Q20:18) *wa-liya fihā*,
3. in al-Šu'arā' (Q26:118) *wa-man ma'īya*,
4. and in al-Duḥān (Q44:21) *liya fa-tazilūni*.

Ibn Kaṭīr applies *fathah* to five words:

1. *maḥyāya* in al-'An'ām (Q6:162),
2. *min warā'īya* in Maryam (Q19:5),
3. *māliya* in al-Naml (Q28:20),
4. and Yā-Sīn (Q36:22), and
5. 'ayna *šurakā'īya* in Fuṣṣilat (Q51:47).

Al-Bazzī adds to that with disagreement among his transmitters *wa-liya dīni* in al-Kāfirūn (Q109:6).

'Abū 'Amr applies the *fathah* to two *yā's*:

1. *maḥyāya* (Q6:162) in al-'An'ām
2. and *māliya* in Yā-Sīn (Q36:22) and nothing else.

Ibn 'Āmir applies *fathah*—in both of his transmissions—to six words:^(P:68)

1. *waḡhiya* in the two places (where it occurs) (Q3:20;
2. Q6:79),
3. in al-'An'ām *širāṭīya* (Q6:153) and
4. *maḥyāya* (Q6:162),
5. in al-'Ankabūt (Q29:56) 'inna 'arḍīya
6. and *māliya* in Yā-Sīn (Q36:22).

Hišām adds to this *baytiya* (e.g., Q2:125) whenever it occurs, *māliya* in al-Naml (Q28:20) and *wa-liya dīni* in al-Kāfirūn (Q109:6).

Ḥafṣ applies *fathah* to the *yā'* of *baytiya* (e.g., Q2:125), *waḡhiya* (Q3:20; Q6:79), *ma'īya* (e.g., Q7:105) in the whole Qur'ān, *maḥyāya* in al-'An'ām (Q6:162), *liya* in 'Ibrāhīm (Q14:22), Ṭā-Hā (Q20:18), al-Naml (Q27:20), Yā-Sīn (36:22), in two places in Šād (Q38:23, 69) and in al-Kāfirūn (Q109:6)—in these seven and nothing else.

ʾAbū Bakr and Al-Kisāʾi applies the *fathah* (to the *yāʾ*) in three cases:

1. *maḥyāya* (Q6:162),
2. *liya* in al-Naml (Q27:20) and
3. *Yā-Sin* (Q36:22) and nothing else.

Ḥamzah applies *fathah* to *maḥyāya* (Q6:162) only. He does not apply *fathah* anywhere else from this group of *yāʾ*s that is disagreed upon. Success comes from God.

U.21. Their Principles Concerning the *yāʾ*'s Removed from the *rasm*

Know that the total number of words disagreed upon in this category is 61 *yāʾ*'s and no more.

U.21.1. [Specifics of Nāfiʿ]

So Nāfiʿ, in the transmission of Warṣ, retains (the *yāʾ*) of these in connected speech in 47 cases, but not in pause.

In the transmission of Qālūn, he retains (the *yāʾ*) of these in 20 (cases). There was disagreement in the transmission from Qālūn on two of them: *at-talāqi* (Q40:15) and *at-tanādi* (Q40:32) in Ġāfir.

U.21.2. [Specifics of Ibn Kaṭīr]

Ibn Kaṭīr retains (the *yāʾ*) in both of his transmissions, in connected speech and in pause, in 21 cases. Qunbul and al-Bazzī disagree in their transmission from him at six junctures:^(P:69)

1. *wa-taqabbal duʿāʾī* (Q14:40) in ʾIbrāhīm,
2. *yadʿu d-dāʿī* (Q54:6) in al-Qamar,
3. *bi-l-wādī* (Q89:9),
4. *ʾakramanī* (Q89:15) and
5. *ʾahānanī* (Q89:16) in al-Fağr.

Al-Bazzī retains (the *yāʾ*) of these five in connected speech and pause.

Qunbul retains (the *yāʾ*) of *bi-l-wādī* (Q89:9) in connected speech and, with disagreement, in pause. He removes (the *yāʾ*) of the (remaining) four in connected speech and pause.

Qunbul retains (the *yāʾ*) in *ʾinnahū man yattaqī wa-yaṣbir* (Q12:90) in Yūsuf in connected speech and pause. Al-Bazzī removes (the *yāʾ*) in connected speech and pause (i.e., *yattaqī/yattaq#*).

U.21.3. [Specifics of 'Abū 'Amr]

'Abū 'Amr (retains the *yā'*) of those only in connected speech in 34 cases.

He allows both ways in the words of the Almighty *'akramanī* (Q89:15) and *'ahānanī* (Q89:16), but what is adopted is the removal of these two, because they are the ends of two verses.

U.21.4. [Specifics of al-Kisā'i]

Al-Kisā'i retains (the *yā'*) of these in connected speech for two *yā's*:

1. *yawma ya'tī* in Hūd (Q11:105)
2. and *mā kunnā nabġī* in al-Kahf (Q18:64) and nothing else.

U.21.5. [Specifics of Ḥamzah]

Ḥamzah retains the *yā'* in connected speech only in the speech of the Almighty *taqabbal du'ā'i* (Q14:40) in 'Ibrāhīm.

He retains it in connected speech and pause in the speech of the Almighty in al-Naml *'a-tumiddūnanī* (Q27:36) and nothing else.

U.21.6. [Specifics of 'Āṣim]

'Āṣim removes all of them in connected speech and pause.

But they disagree in transmission from him for two *yā's*. The first of these is in al-Naml *fa-mā 'ātāniya līhū* (Q27:36). Ḥafṣ (retains it) and applies *fathah* to it in connected speech and retains it with no vowel in pause (i.e., *'ātānī#*). 'Abū Bakr removes it in connected speech and pause (i.e., *'ātānī*, *'ātān#*).

The second is in al-Zuḥruf *yā 'ibādiya lā ḥawfun* (Q43:68). 'Abū Bakr (retains it) and applies the *fathah* to it in connected speech and retains it with no vowel in pause (i.e., *yā 'ibādī#*). Ḥafṣ removes it in connected speech and pause (i.e., *yā 'ibādī*, *yā 'ibād#*).

U.21.7. [Specifics of Ibn 'Āmir]

Ibn 'Āmir, in the transmission of Hišām, retains the *yā'* in connected speech and pause in the speech of the Almighty *tumma kidūnī(#)* (Q7:195) in al-'A'rāf. ^(p:70)

He removes the *yā'* in connected speech and pause in the transmission of Ibn ʿAṣwān with disagreement according to the transmission from al-ʿAḥfaṣ from him in the speech of the Almighty in al-Kahf *fa-lā tas'alanni*(#) (Q18:70) and nothing else.

And all of this which has been transmitted of those in terms of disagreement will also return at the end of the *sūrahs* if God wills it.

U.22. [Conclusion of the 'Uṣūl]

ʿAbū ʿAmr [al-Dānī] said: We have mentioned these regular principles in order to explain them as much as it is possible in this summary, using few words but conveying the meaning, in order to allow analogous expansion (of the rules) over what has been transmitted and to apply what we have explained.

We will now begin to mention the specific wordings *sūrah* by *sūrah* from the beginning of the Qurʾān until the end if God Almighty wills it. Success comes from God.^(P:71)

F. THE CHAPTER THAT MENTIONS THE SPECIFIC VARIANTS

F.2. Sūrat al-Baqarah

9: The two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr read *wa-mā yuḥādī'ūna* with an 'alif, *ḍammah* on the *yā'*, *fathah* on the *ḥā'* and *kasrah* on the *dāl*. The rest read it without the 'alif, and with *fathah* on the *yā'* and *dāl* (i.e., *yaḥda'ūna*).

10: The Kufans read *yakḍibūna* with *fathah* on the *yā'* and without gemination. The rest read it with *ḍammah* (on the *yā'*) and gemination (i.e., *yukaḍḍibūna*).

11: Al-Kisā'i and Hišām read *qūla*, *ḡūḍa*, *ḡū'a* with 'iṣmām *al-ḍamm* on the first root letter of those (verbs), whenever they occur. The rest read it with the pure pronunciation of the *kasrah* (i.e., *qīla*, *ḡīḍa*, *ḡī'a*).

20: Warš lengthens the *yā'* of *šayyyy'*, *šayyyy'an*, *ka-hayyyy'ati* and what is like it. It is also like that for the *wāw* of *as-sawwww'i* and *sawwww'ah* and what is like it, whenever what stands before it carries a *fathah*, and what comes after it is a *hamzah* within the same word, except *maw'īlan* (Q18:85) and *al-maw'ūdah* (Q81:8).

Ḥamzah pauses on the *yā'* of *šay* <pause> ' and *šay* <pause> 'an in continuous speech specifically. The rest do not lengthen it nor pause on it.

29: Qālūn, 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i place no vowel on the *hā'* of *huwa* and *hiya* whenever *wa-*, *fa-* or *la-* precedes it (i.e., *wa-hwa*, *fa-hya*, *la-hwa*, etc.). Qālūn and al-Kisā'i also do not place a vowel on it when *ṭumma* occurs before it in His speech *ṭumma hwa yawmu l-qiyāmati* (Q28:61). The rest place a vowel on the *hā'* (of both *huwa* and *hiya*) (i.e., *wa-huwa*, *fa-hiya*, *la-huwa*, *ṭumma huwa*, etc.).^(P:72)

36: Ḥamzah reads *fa-'azālahumā* with 'alif and without gemination. The rest read it without 'alif and with gemination (i.e., *fa-'azallahumā*).

37: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *fa-talaqqā 'ādama* with *naṣb*, and *kalimātun* with *raf'* (i.e., *fa-talaqqā 'ādama min rabbiḥi kalimātun*). The rest read 'ādamu with *raf'*, and *kasrah* on the *tā'* (of *kalimātin*) (i.e., *fa-talaqqā 'ādamu min rabbiḥi kalimātin*).

48: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *wa-lā tuqbalu minhā* with *tā'*. The rest read it with *yā'* (i.e., *yuqbalu*).

51: 'Abū 'Amr reads *wa-ʾiḍ waʿadnā* and *wa-waʿadnākum* without *ʾalif* whenever it occurs. The rest read it with *ʾalif* (i.e., *wa-ʾiḍ wāʿadnā* and *wa-wāʿadnākum*).

54: 'Abū 'Amr reads *bāriʾikum* in both cases, *yaʾ/āmurūkum*, *yaʾ/āmurūhum*, *yaṣṣurūkum* and *yuṣṣirūkum* with ultrashort pronunciation of the vowel for all of these in the manner (*ṭarīq*) of the Baghdadis (i.e., the transmitters from al-Dūrī). This is the preference of Sībawayh.¹ The manner (*ṭarīq*) of the Raqqans (i.e., the transmitters from al-Sūsī) and others is the dropping of the vowel (i.e., *bāriʾikum*, *yaʾ/āmurukum*, etc.). This is transmitted solely from 'Abū 'Amr, and with that I recited it to ['Abd al-ʿAzīz b. Ġaʿfar] al-Fārisī according to his recitation to 'Abū Ṭāhir. The rest pronounce the vowels (of these words) completely (i.e., *bāriʾikum(ū)*, *yaʾ/āmurukum(ū)*, etc.).

58: Nāfiʿ reads *yugʿfar lakum* with *yāʾ* that carries a *ḍammah* and with *fathah* on the *fāʾ*, and Ibn ʿAmir with *tāʾ* (i.e., *tuġfar*). The rest reads it with *nūn* that carries a *fathah* and with *kasrah* on the *fāʾ* (i.e., *naġfir*).

61: *ʿalayhu/imu/i ḍ-ḍillah* and what is related to it has already been mentioned.²

Nāfiʿ reads *an-nabiʾīna*, *al-(ʾ)anbiʾāʾ*, *an-nubūʾah* and *an-nabiʾ* with *hamzah* whenever it occurs. Qālūn drops the *hamzah* in His speech in al-ʾAḥzāb (Q33): *li-n-nabiʾ ʾin ʾarāda* (Q33:50) and *biyūta n-nabi ʾillā ʾan* (Q33:53) in these two places in connected speech only, according to his general principle employed when two *hamzahs* that both carry a *kasrah*.³ The rest reads it without *hamzah* (i.e., *an-nabiyyīna*, *al-ʾanbiyāʾ*, *an-nubuwwah*, *an-nabiyy*).^(P:73)

62: Nāfiʿ reads *aṣ-ṣābīna* and *aṣ-ṣābūna* without *hamzah* whenever they occur. The rest read it with *hamzah* (i.e., *aṣ-ṣābiʾīna* and *aṣ-ṣābiʾūna*).

67: Ḥaṣṣ reads *huzuwan* and *kufuwan* with *ḍammah* on the *zāy* and *fāʾ* without *hamzah*. Ḥamzah does not place a vowel on the *zāy* and *fāʾ*, and pronounces the *hamzah* in connected speech. When he pauses on it, he replaces the *hamzah* with *wāw*, following the written text as a representation (*taqdīran*) for the *ḍammah* of the letter that carries no vowel before it (i.e., in connected speech *huzʾan* and *kufʾan*, while in pause *huzwā#* and *kufwā#*). The rest read it with *ḍammah* and *hamzah* (i.e., *huzuʾan*, *kufuʾan*).

¹ This is a reference to Sībawayh (1988, IV:202) who explicitly tells us that 'Abū 'Amr reads it with an ultrashort vowel, not with no vowel.

² See U.7.1.

³ See U.11.1.

74: Ibn Kaṭīr reads the *'ammā ya'malūna* that is followed by *'a-fa-taṭma'ūna* (Q2:75) with *yā'*. The two of the holy cities and 'Abū Bakr read the *'ammā ya'malūna* (Q2:75) that is followed by *'ulā'ika llaḏīna* (Q2:76) with a *yā'*. The rest read both with *tā'* (i.e., *'ammā ta'malūna* in Q2:74, 75).

81: Nāfi' reads *ḥaṭī'atuhū* in the plural, while the rest read it in the singular (i.e., *ḥaṭī'atuhū*).

83: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *lā ya'budūna 'illā lllāh* with *yā'*, and the rest read it with *tā'* (i.e., *ta'budūna*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *li-n-nāsi ḥasanān* with *fathah* on the *ḥā'* and *sīn*, and the rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *ḥā'* and no vowel on the *sīn* (i.e., *ḥusnan*).

85: The Kufans read *taḏḏāharūna* with no gemination of the *ḏā'*, and it is like that in al-Taḥrīm (Q66:4) *wa-'in taḏḏāharā 'alayhi*. The rest read it with gemination (i.e., *taḏḏḏāharūna*, *wa-'in taḏḏḏāharā*).

Ḥamzah reads *'asrē* without *'alif* according to the pattern *fa'lē*, and the rest read it with *'alif* according to the pattern *fu'ālā/ā'/ē* (i.e., *'usārā/ā'/ē*).

Nāfi', 'Aṣim and al-Kisā'i read *tufādūhum(ū)* with *'alif* and *ḍammah* on the *tā'*. The rest read it without *'alif* and with *fathah* on the *tā'* (i.e., *tafdūhum(ū)*).

87: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *al-quḏs* without an extra vowel whenever it occurs, and the rest read it with an extra vowel (i.e., *al-qudus*).^(P:74)

90: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *yunzilu*, *tunzilu* and *nunzilu*, whenever it occurs in the imperfect, with *ḍammah* of the first letter and without gemination.

Ibn Kaṭīr makes an exception for *wa-mimmā nunazziluhū* in al-Ḥiğr (Q15:21), *nunazzilu min al-qurāni* (Q17:82) and *ḥattā tunazzilu 'alaynā* (Q17:93) in Ṣubḥān.

'Abū 'Amr makes an exception for *'alā 'an yunazzilu 'āyatan* in al-'An'ām (Q6:37) and the one which was in al-Ḥiğr, which they agree upon.

The rest read with gemination (i.e., *yunazzilu*, *tunazzilu*, *nunazzilu*), but Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i make an exception to that for two words in Luqmān, *yunzilu l-ğayṭa* (Q31:34), and in 'Ayn-Sīn-Qāf,⁴ *allaḏi yunzilu l-ğayṭa* (Q42:28), which they pronounce ungeminated.

97: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *ğabrīl* here and in al-Taḥrīm (Q66:4), with *fathah* on the *ğīm* and *kasra* on the *rā'* without *hamzah*. 'Abū Bakr reads it with *fathah* on the *ğīm* and the *rā'*, and

⁴ This is one of the alternative names of Sūrat al-Šūrā (Kandil 1992, 51).

with *hamzah* that carries *kasrah* without a (following) *yā'* (i.e., *ğabra'il*). *Ḥamzah* and al-Kisā'i are similar, except that they place a *yā'* after the *hamzah* (i.e., *ğabra'il*). The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *ğim* and the *rā'* without a *hamzah* (i.e., *ğibril*).

98: Ḥafṣ and 'Abū 'Amr read *wa-mikāla* without *hamzah* and without *yā'*. Nāfi' reads it with *hamzah* and without *yā'* (i.e., *mikā'ila*). The rest read it with *yā'* after the *hamzah* (i.e., *mikā'ilā*).

102: Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-lākin iš-šayāṭinu* and in al-'Anfāl (Q8:17) *wa-lākin illāhu qatalahum* and *wa-lākin illāhu ramā/ē* in three places, with *kasrah* of the *nūn* and the *raf'* of the word after it. The rest read it with *fathah* on the geminated *nūn* and *naṣb* of what is after it (i.e., *wa-lākinna š-šayāṭina*, *wa-lākinna llāha*, *wa-lākinna llāha*).^(P:75)

106: Ibn 'Āmir reads *mā nunsih min 'āyatin* with *ḍammah* on the *nūn* and *kasrah* on the *sīn*. The rest read it with *fathah* on both (i.e., *nansaḥ*).

Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *'aw nansa'hā* with *hamzah* and *fathah* on the *nūn* and *sīn*. The rest read it without *hamzah*, with *ḍammah* on the *nūn* and *kasrah* on the *sīn* (i.e., *nunsihā*).

116: Ibn 'Āmir reads *qālū ttaḥaḍa llāhu* without *wāw* and the rest read *wa-qālū* with *wāw*.⁵

117: Ibn 'Āmir reads *fa-yakūna* here, in 'Āl 'Imrān at *fa-yakūna // wa-nu'allimuhū*⁶ (Q3:47), in al-Naḥl (Q16:40), Maryam (Q19:35), Yā-Sīn (Q36:82) and Ġāfir (Q40:68)—in all these six places with the *naṣb* of the *nūn*. Al-Kisā'i follows him in al-Naḥl and Yā-Sīn only. The rest read it with *raf'* (i.e., *fa-yakūnu*).

119: Nāfi' reads *wa-lā tas'al* with *fathah* on the *tā'* and *ğazm* of the *lām*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* of the *tā'* and *raf'* (i.e., *wa-lā tus'alu*).

125: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *wa-ttaḥaḍū* with *fathah* on the *ḥā'* and the rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *wa-ttaḥiḍū*).

126: Ibn 'Āmir reads *fa-'umti'uhū* ungeminated and the rest read it geminated (i.e., *fa-'umatti'uhū*).

128: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī] read *wa-'arnā* and *'arni* without vowel on the *rā'* whenever they occur. 'Abū 'Umar⁷ [al-Dūrī], transmitting from al-Yazīdī, reads with an

⁵ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

⁶ The reading of *wa-nu'allimuhū* is also disagreed upon, see F.3:48.

⁷ Pretzl has 'Abū 'Amr (al-Dānī 2008a, 32).

ultrashort *kasrah* (i.e., *wa-ʾarīnā* and *ʾarīnī*), while the rest read it with full pronunciation of the vowel (i.e., *wa-ʾarinā*, *ʾarini*).

130: Hišām reads *ʾibrāhām* with *ʾalif* for all that occur in this *sūrah*. In al-Nisāʾ there are three occurrences of it and they are at the final ones (Q4:125, 163), in al-ʾAnʿām the last one (Q6:161), in al-Tawbah the last two cases (Q9:114), in ʾIbrāhīm (Q15:35) one case, in al-Naḥl two cases (Q16:120, 123), in Maryam three cases (Q19:41, 46, 58), and in al-ʿAnkabūt the last word (Q29:31). In ʿAyn-Sīn-Qāf there is a case (Q43:13), in al-Dāriyāt there is a case (Q51:24), in al-Naḡm there is a case (Q53:37), in al-Ḥadīd there is a case (Q58:26), and in al-Mumtaḥanah the first occurrence (i.e., the first of the two in Q60:4). There are 33 cases in total.^(P:76)

Ibn Ḍakwān reads it only in al-Baqarah with both options (*ʾibrāhām* and *ʾibrāhīm*). The rest read all of them with *yāʾ* (i.e., *ʾibrāhīm*).

132: Nāfiʿ and Ibn ʿĀmir read *wa-ʾawṣā* with *ʾalif* without gemination, and the rest without *ʾalif* and with gemination (i.e., *wa-waṣṣā*).⁸

140: Ḥafṣ, Ibn ʿĀmir, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *ʾam taqūlūna* with *tāʾ*, and the rest with *yāʾ* (i.e., *ʾam yaqūlūna*).

143: The two of the holy cities, Ibn ʿĀmir and Ḥafṣ read *la-raʾūfun* with a long vowel whenever it occurs and the rest with a short vowel (i.e., *la-raʾufun*).

144: Ibn ʿĀmir, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *ʿammā taʿmalūna* followed by *laʾin ʾatayta* (as opposed to the occurrence in Q2:149) with *tāʾ* and the rest read it with *yāʾ* (i.e., *ʿammā yaʿmalūna*).

148: Ibn ʿĀmir reads *muwallāhā* with *ʾalif*, and the rest with *yāʾ* (i.e., *muwallihā*).

149: ʾAbū ʿAmr reads *ʿammā yaʿmalūna* followed by *wa-man ḥaytu* with *yāʾ*, and the rest with *tāʾ* (i.e., *ʿammā taʿmalūna*).

158: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *wa-man yaṭṭawwaʿ* in two places (here and at Q2:184) with *yāʾ*, gemination of the *tāʾ* and *ḡazm* of the *ʿayn*. The rest read it without gemination of the *tāʾ* and with *fathah* on the *ʿayn* (i.e., *wa-man taṭawwaʿa*).^(P:77)

164: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *wa-taṣrifi r-rīhi* here, in al-Kahf (Q18:45) and al-Ġāṭiyah (Q45:5) in the singular. Ibn Kaṭīr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read it in al-ʾAʿrāf (Q7:57), al-Naml (Q27:63), the second case in al-Rūm (Q30:48) and Fāṭir (Q35:9) in the singular. The rest

⁸ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

read it in the plural (i.e., *ar-riyāh*). Ḥamzah also reads it in al-Ḥiğr (Q15:22) in the singular. Ibn Kaṭīr reads it in al-Furqān (Q25:48) in the singular, and the rest read it in the plural. Nāfi' reads it in 'Ibrāhīm (Q14:18) and al-Šūrā (Q42:33) in the plural, and the rest in the singular.

165: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *wa-law tarā llaḏīna* with *tā'*, and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yarā/ē*).

Ibn 'Āmir reads *'id yurawna* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'*, and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *yarawna*).

168: Qunbul, Ḥafṣ, Ibn 'Āmir and al-Kisā'i read *ḥuṭuwāt* with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* whenever it occurs, while the rest read it without vowel (i.e., *ḥuṭwāt*).

173: 'Āṣim, 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥamzah place *kasrah* on the *nūn* of *fa-man iḏturra* (Q2:173, etc.), *'an i'budū* (Q5:117, etc.), *'an iḥkum* (Q5:49), *lākin inḏur* (Q7:143), *'an iḡdū* (Q68:22) and what is similar to it. They do likewise with the *dāl* of *wa-la-qad istuhzi'a* (Q6:10, etc.), the *tā'* of *wa-qālat iḥruḡ* (Q12:31) and the *tanwīn* in, for example, *fatīlan // inḏur* (Q4:49–50) and *mubīnun // iqtulū* (Q12:8–9) and what is like it. They do so whenever there is an unvowelled letter followed by another letter that is part of the stem and that carries a *ḍammah*. If you start on it, you pronounce the *'alif* (*al-waṣl*) with *ḍammah* (i.e., *#'uḏturra*, etc.).

'Āṣim and Ḥamzah also apply the *kasrah* to the *lām* of *qul* and the *wāw* of *'aw* in, for example, His speech *qul id'ū* (Q7:195), *'aw inquš* (Q73:3) and what is like it.

The rest pronounce these with *ḍammah* for all of them (i.e., *fa-man uḏturra*, *'an u'budū*, *wa-la-qad ustuhzi'a*, *wa-qālat uḥruḡ*, *qatīlan unḏur*, *qul ud'ū* and *'aw unquš*).

Ibn Ḍakwān makes an exception with the *tanwīn* only, thus he applies the *kasrah*, except for the two words *bi-rahmatin udḥulū* (Q7:49) and *ḥabīṭatin uḡtuttat* (Q14:26). This is the transmission of Muḥammad b. al-'Aḥram⁹ from al-'Aḥfaṣ from him (Ibn Ḍakwān). Al-Naqqāš and others report all of that with *kasrah* whenever it occurs.^(P:78)

177: Ḥafṣ and Ḥamzah read *laysa l-birra* with *naṣb*, and the rest read it with *raf'* (i.e., *laysa l-birru*). There is no disagreement about the second occurrence (Q2:189) that it is with *raf'*.

⁹ Pretzl has b. al-'Aḥzam; this is a mistake (al-Dānī 2008a, 33). Note that this *'isnād* is not present in the *Taysīr* nor in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān*. It is one of the *tilāwah* paths for al-Dānī's teacher 'Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn Ġalbūn (1991, 27) as well as 'Abū al-Ṭayyib Ibn Ġalbūn (2015, 185). Both of them indeed explicitly mention this exception (Ibn Ġalbūn 1991, 265; 2015, 436).

Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *wa-lākin il-birru* in both places (Q2:177, 189) with *kasrah* on the *nūn* and *raf'* of the *rā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the geminated *nūn* and with *naṣb* of the *rā'* (i.e., *wa-lākinna l-birra*).

182: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *min muwaṣṣin* with *fathah* on the *wāw* and gemination of the *šād*. The rest read it without gemination (i.e., *mūṣin*).

184: Nāfi' and Ibn Ḍakwān read *fidyatu ṭa'āmi masākina* as a construct phrase and in the plural. The rest read it with *tanwīn*, with *raf'* of the *mīm* and in the singular (i.e., *fidyatun ṭa'āmu miskinin*), except for Hišām, who reads *masākina* in the plural (i.e., *fidyatun ṭa'āmu masākina*).

Whoever makes it plural, applies *fathah* to the *mīm* and *sīn*, and adds an 'alif. Whoever makes it singular, applies *kasrah* to the *mīm* and *nūn*, and *tanwīn* to it, and removes the 'alif.

185: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *fīhi l-qurān* and *qurānan* and *qurānahū* whenever it occurs as a noun (i.e., not the verb *qara'a*) without the *hamzah*. Upon pausing, Ḥamzah follows him (i.e., *qurānā#*).¹⁰ (P:79)

Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū Bakr read *wa-li-tukammilū* with gemination, and the rest without (i.e., *wa-li-tukmilū*).

189: Warš, Ḥafṣ and 'Abū 'Amr read *al-buyūt*, and *buyūtvkum* with *ḍammah* on the *bā'* whenever it occurs. The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *al-biyūt*, *biyūtvkum(ū)*).

191: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-lā taqtulūhum*, *hattā yaqtulūkum* and *fa-'in qatalūkum* without 'alif derived from *al-qatl* (i.e., the stem I form). The rest read it with an 'alif, derived from *al-qitāl* (i.e., the stem III form, *tuqātilūhum(ū)*, *yuqātilūkum(ū)* and *qātalūkum(ū)*).

197: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *fa-lā rafaṭun wa-lā fusūqun* with *raf'* and *tanwīn* on both, while the rest read it with *naṣb* and without *tanwīn* (i.e., *fa-lā rafaṭa wa-lā fusūqa*). There is no disagreement on His speech *wa-lā ḡidāla*.

208: The two of the holy cities and al-Kisā'i read *fī s-salmi* with *fathah* on the *sīn* and the rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *as-silmi*).

210: Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *tarḡi'u l-'umūru* with *fathah* on the *tā'* and *kasrah* on the *ḡīm* whenever it occurs (Q2:110; Q3:109; Q8:44; Q22:76; Q35:4; Q57:5), and the rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and *fathah* on the *ḡīm* (i.e., *turḡa'u*).

¹⁰ On Ḥamzah's reading in pause, see U.11.6.2.

214: Nāfi' reads *ḥattā yaqūlu* with *raf'* of the *lām* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *yaqūla*).

219:¹¹ Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'iṭmun kaṭīrun* with *tā'* and the rest with *bā'* (i.e., *kabīrun*).

'Abū 'Amr reads *qul il-'afwu* with *raf'* and the rest read it with *naṣb* (i.e., *al-'afwā*).

220: Al-Bazzī, according to the transmission of 'Abū Rabī'ah from him, reads *la.a'na-takumū* with softening of the *hamzah*, while the rest read it with full pronunciation (i.e., *la-'a'natakum*).

222: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *ḥattā yaṭṭahharna* with gemination of both the *tā'* and the *hā'*. The rest read it with no vowel on the *tā'* (and no gemination) and with *ḍammah* on the *hā'* (i.e., *yaṭṭhurna*).

229: Ḥamzah reads *'illā 'an yuḥāfā* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *yaḥāfā*).^(P:80)

233: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *lā tuḍārru* with *raf'* of the *rā'*, and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *lā tuḍārra*).

Ibn Kaṭīr reads *mā 'ataytumū* with a short vowel, and likewise in al-Rūm (Q30:39) *wa-mā 'ataytumū min riban*, and the rest read it lengthened (i.e., *'ātaytum*).

236: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *tumāssūhunna* in two places here (Q2:236, 237) and in al-'Aḥzāb (Q33:49) with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* with *'alif*, and the rest read with *fathah* on the *tā'* without *'alif* (i.e., *tamassūhunna*).

Ḥafṣ, Ibn Ḍakwān, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *qadaruhū* in both cases with *fathah* on the *dāl*, and the rest read it without vowel (i.e., *qadruhū*).

240: The two of the holy cities, 'Abū Bakr and al-Kisā'i read *waṣiyyatun* with *raf'*, and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *waṣiyyatan*).

245: 'Āṣim and Ibn 'Āmir read *fa-yuḍā'ifahū/fa-yuḍa'ifahū* here and in al-Ḥadīd (Q57:11) with *naṣb* of the *fā'*, and the rest read it with *raf'* (i.e., *fa-yuḍā'ifuhū/fa-yuḍa'ifuhū*).

Ibn Kaṭīr and Ibn 'Āmir read *fa-yuḍa'ifa/uhū*, *yuḍa'ifu* and *muḍa'if* with gemination of the *'ayn* and without *'alif* whenever it occurs, and the rest read it with *'alif* and without gemination (i.e., *fa-yuḍā'ifa/uhū*, *yuḍā'ifu* and *muḍā'if*).

Qunbul, Ḥafṣ, Hišām, 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥamzah, with disagreement in transmission of Ḥallād (from Ḥamzah), read *yabsuṭu* here and *baṣṭatun* in al-'A'rāf (Q7:69) with *sīn*, while al-

¹¹ Pretzl has 216 here; this is a mistake.

Naqqāš transmits from al-ʿAḥfaš [from Ibn Ḍakwān] here with *sin* and in al-ʿAʿrāf with *šād* (i.e., *yabsuṭu* but *baṣṭatun*). The rest read it with *šād* in both cases (i.e., *yabsuṭu* and *baṣṭatun*).

246: Nāfiʿ reads *ʿasitum* here and in al-Qitāl¹² (Q47:22) with *kasrah* on the *sin*, and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *ʿasaytum(ū)*).

249: The Kufans and Ibn ʿĀmir read *ḡurfatan* with *ḍammah* on the *ḡayn*, and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *ḡarfatan*).^(P:81)

251: Nāfiʿ reads *ḍifāʿu ḷlāhi* here and in al-Ḥaḡḡ (Q22:40) with *kasrah* on the *dāl* and ʿalif after the *fāʾ*, while the rest read it with *fathah* on the *dāl* and no vowel on the *fāʾ* without ʿalif (i.e., *ḍafʿu*).

254: Ibn Kaṭīr and ʿAbū ʿAmr read here *lā bayʿa fihī wa-lā ḥullata wa-lā šafāʿata*, in ʿIbrāhīm (Q14:31) *lā bayʿa fihī wa-lā ḥalāla* and in al-Ṭūr (Q52:23) *lā laḡwa fihā wa-lā taʾ/āṭima* with *naṣb* and without *tanwīn* in all these cases. The rest read it with *rafʿ* and *tanwīn* (i.e., *lā bayʿun fihī wa-lā ḥullatun wa-lā šafāʿatun*, etc.).

258: Nāfiʿ reads *ʿanā ʿuhyī wa-ʿumītu*, *ʿanā ʿawwalu*, *ʿanā ʿunabbiʿukum* and what is like it, whenever after *ʿana* comes a *hamzah* that carries *ḍammah* or *fathah* with the addition of an ʿalif in connected speech and pause. ʿAbū Naṣīṭ also transmits it (i.e., *ʿanā* in connected speech and pause) from Qālūn when it is followed by a *hamzah* carrying a *kasrah* in His speech *ʿin ʿanā ʿillā* (Q7:188; Q26:115) and *mā ʿanā ʿillā* (Q46:9). The rest read it with removal of the ʿalif in connected speech only, and all of them add it in pause (i.e., *ʿana* in connected speech, *ʿanā#* when pausing).

259: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʿī read *lam yatasanna* without *hāʾ* in connected speech only (i.e., *yatasannah#* in pause). The rest read it with the addition (of *hāʾ*) in connected speech and pause (i.e., *yatasannah(#)*).

The Kufans and Ibn ʿĀmir read *nunšīzuhā* with *zāy* and the rest with *rāʾ* (i.e., *nunšīruhā*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʿī read *qāla ʿlam ʿanna ḷlāha* with ʿalif *al-waṣl* and *ḡazm* of the *mīm*. When they start on the word, it is read with *kasrah* on the ʿalif as an imperative (i.e., *#ʿiʿlam*). The rest read it with ʿalif *al-qaṭʿ* both in connected speech and when starting on the word (*fī al-ḥālayn*), and with *rafʿ* of the *mīm* according to the indicative (i.e., *ʿaʿlamu*).

260: Ḥamzah reads *fa-ṣīrhunna* with *kasrah* on the *šād* and the rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *fa-ṣurhunna*).

¹² A different name for Sūrat Muḥammad (Kandil 1992, 52).

ʾAbū Bakr reads *ğuzuʾan* and *ğuzuʾun* with *ḍammah* on the *zāy* whenever it occurs and the rest read it without vowel (i.e., *ğuzʾan*, *ğuzʾun*).^(P:82)

265: ʾĀṣim and Ibn ʿĀmir read *bi-rabwatin* here and in al-Muʾminūn (Q23:50) with *fathah* on the *rāʾ*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *bi-rubwatin*).

The two of the holy cities read *ʾuklḥā*, *ʾuklḥū* and *al-(ʾ)uklḥ* whenever it occurs without extra vowel. ʾAbū ʿAmr only follows them when it is suffixed by the feminine pronoun (i.e., *ʾuklḥā* but *ʾukulḥū* and *al-ʾukulḥ*). The rest read it with an extra vowel (i.e., *ʾukulḥā*, *ʾukulḥū* and *al-ʾukulḥ*).

267: Al-Bazzī reads *tāʾ* with gemination in connected speech when it is the first letter of a verb in the prefix conjugation in 31 places:

1. here *lā ttayammamū*,
2. in ʾĀl ʿImrān (Q3:103) *wa-lā ttafarraqū*,
3. in al-Nisāʾ (Q4:97) *ʾinna llaḍīna ttawaffāhumū*,
4. in al-Māʾidah (Q5:2) *wa-ttaʿāwanū*,
5. in al-ʾAnʿām (Q6:153) *fa-ttafarraqa bikumū*,
6. in al-ʾAʿrāf (Q7:117) *fa-ʾiḍā hiya ttalaqqafu*,
7. and likewise in Ṭāhā (Q20:69) (i.e., *yamīnika ttalaqqaf*),
8. and al-Šuʿarāʾ (Q26:45) (i.e., *hiya ttalaqqafu*),
9. and in al-ʾAnfāl (Q8) *wa-lā ttawallaw* (Q8:20),
10. and *wa-lā ttanāzaʿū* (Q8:46),
11. in al-Tawbah (Q9:52) *qul hal ttarabbašūna*,
12. in Hūd (Q11) *wa-ʾin ttawallaw* (Q11:3),
13. and *fa-ʾin ttawallaw* (Q11:57),
14. and *lā ttakallamu nafsīn* (Q11:105),
15. in al-Ḥiğr (Q15:8) *mā ttanazzalu*,
16. in al-Nūr (Q24) *ʾiḍ ttalaqqawnahū* (Q24:15),
17. and *fa-ʾin ttawallaw faʾinnamā* (Q24:54),
18. in al-Šuʿarāʾ (Q26) *ʿalā man ttanazzalu š-šayāṭīnu* (Q26:221),
19. // *ttanazzalu* (Q26:222),
20. in al-ʾAḥzāb (Q33) *wa-lā ttabarrağna* (Q33:33),
21. *wa-lā ʾan ttabaddala* (Q33:52),

22. in al-Šāffāt (Q37:25) *lâ ttanāšarūna*,
23. in al-Ḥuğurāt *wa-lâ ttanābazū* (Q49:11),
24. *wa-lâ ttağassasū* (Q49:12),
25. and *li-tta‘ārafū* (Q49:13),^(P:83)
26. in al-Mumtaḥanah (Q60:9) *‘an ttawallawhumū*,
27. in al-Mulk (Q67:8) *takādu ttamayyazu*,
28. in al-Qalam (Q68:38) *lammâ ttaḥayyarūna*,
29. in ‘Abasa (Q80:10) *‘anhû ttalahhā*,
30. in al-Layl (Q92:14) *nāran ttalaḏḏā*,
31. and in al-Qadr (Q97:4) *min ‘alfi šahrin // ttanazzalu*.

‘Abū al-Farağ al-Nağğād, the teacher of recitation adds, transmitting from his recitation to ‘Abū al-Faṭḥ b. Budhun from ‘Abū Bakr al-Zaynabī from ‘Abū Rabī‘ah from al-Bazzī¹³ two more places: ‘Āl ‘Imrān (Q3:143) *wa-la-qad kuntumû ttamannawna l-mawta* and al-Wāqī‘ah (Q56:65) *faḏaltumû ttafakkahūna*—he added gemination to the *tā’* of these too.¹⁴ This is by analogy of the words of ‘Abū Rabī‘ah: “If I start on these *tā’s*, they are ungeminated.” If there is a long vowel before them, add to it extra length (i.e., make them overlong, as if the geminate followed within a word). The rest read the *tā’* without gemination for all the words in this section (i.e., *tayammamū*, etc.).

271: Ibn Kaṭīr, Warš and Ḥafṣ read *fa-ni‘immā* here and in al-Nisā’ (Q4:58) with *kasrah* on the *nūn* and on the ‘*ayn*. Qālūn, ‘Abū Bakr and ‘Abū ‘Amr with *kasrah* on the *nūn* and an ultrashort vowel on the ‘*ayn* (‘*ihfā’* *ḥarakat al-‘ayn*, i.e., *ni‘immā*), and it is allowed to pronounce no vowel (i.e., *ni‘mmā*). This is how it is transmitted in written works from them, but the first is more regular (‘*aqyas*). The rest read it with *faṭḥah* on the *nūn* and *kasrah* on the ‘*ayn* (i.e., *na‘immā*).

¹³ This ‘*isnād* does not occur in U.4.2.2. nor in the ‘*isnād* section of Ğāmi‘ al-bayān.

¹⁴ With these two added to the list, the gemination of initial *tā’* is completely regular. It occurs on every single verb which starts with a single *tā’* in the *rasm* which must be interpreted as a simplification of *tata-* by haplology rather than assimilation (e.g., Q2:280 تصدقوا *taṣṣaddaqū*). But these two are only added in this isolated transmission that does not seem to be confirmed by any other transmission (see also the discussion in al-Dānī 2007, 933; Ibn al-Ğazarī 2018, §2804).

Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū Bakr and 'Abū 'Amr read *nukaffiru* with *nūn* and with *raf'* of the *rā'*. Ḥafṣ and Ibn 'Āmir read it with *yā'* and *raf'* (i.e., *yukaffiru*), and the rest with *nūn* with *ğazm* (i.e., *nukaffir*).

273: 'Aṣim, Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah read *yaḥsabuhum*, *yaḥsabūna*, *yaḥsabu* and *yaḥsabanna* when it is a verb in the prefix conjugation with a *fathah* on the *sīn*. The rest read it with a *kasrah* (i.e., *yaḥsibuhum(ū)*, *yaḥsibūna*, *yaḥsibu* and *yaḥsibanna*).¹⁵

279: 'Abū Bakr and Ḥamzah read *fa-'āḍinū* with length and *kasrah* on the *ḍāl*, and the rest with shortness and *fathah* on the *ḍāl* (i.e., *fa-'ḍanū/fāḍanū*).^(P:84)

280: Nāfi' reads *'ilā maysuratin* with *ḍammah* on the *sīn*, and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *maysaratin*).

'Aṣim reads *wa-'in taṣaddaqū* without gemination of the *ṣād*, and the rest read it with gemination (i.e., *taṣṣaddaqū*).

281: 'Abū 'Amr reads *targi'ūna fihi* with *fathah* on the *tā'* and *kasrah* on the *ğīm*, while the rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and *fathah* on the *ğīm* (i.e., *turğ'a'ūna*).

282: Ḥamzah reads *min aṣ-ṣḥadā'i 'in taḍilla* with *kasrah* of the *hamzah*, and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *'an*).

Ḥamzah reads *fa-tuḍakkiru* with *raf'* and gemination. Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read it with *naṣb* without gemination (i.e., *fa-tuḍkira*). The rest read it with *naṣb* and gemination (i.e., *fa-tuḍakkira*).

'Aṣim reads *tiğāratan ḥāḍīratan* with *naṣb* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *tiğāratun ḥāḍīratun*).

283: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *fa-ruhunun* with *ḍammah* on the *rā'* and the *hā'* without *'alif*. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *rā'*, *fathah* on the *hā'* and an *'alif* after it (i.e., *fa-rihānun*).

284: 'Aṣim and Ibn 'Āmir read *fa-yağfiru* and *yu'addibu*, both with *raf'*. The rest read it with *ğazm* (*fa-yağfir*, *yu'addib*).

285: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-kitābihi* with *'alif* in the singular, and the rest without *'alif* in the plural (i.e., *kutubihī*).

¹⁵ This description is more restrictive than it should be. Unlike what the wording might suggest, not just 3sg.m. and 3pl.m. forms, but all forms of the prefix conjugation are meant here, including, e.g., Q25:44 *taḥsabu*, and Q3:87 *li-taḥsa/ibūhū*.

ʿAbū ʿAmr reads *ruslvnā*, *ruslvkum*, *ruslvhum* and *sublvnā* whenever after the *lām* (of *rusul* and *subul*) come two letters (i.e., *-nā*, *-kum*, *-hu/im*) with no vowel on the *sīn* and *bāʾ* whenever it occurs. The rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *rusulvnā*, *subulvnā*, etc.).

F.2.1. [Yāʾs of Q2]

There are eight *yāʾ*s:

1. *ʾinniya ʾaʿlamu* (Q2:30) and
2. *ʾinniya ʾaʿlamu* (Q2:33) with *fathah* on both by the two of the holy cities and ʿAbū ʿAmr (the rest read it as *ʾinnī*).
3. *ʾahdī ḍ-ḍālimīna* (Q2:124) carries no vowel for Ḥafṣ and Ḥamzah (it is *ʾahdiya* for the rest).
4. *baytiya li-ṭ-ṭāʾifīna* (Q2:125) with *fathah* for Nāfiʿ, Ḥafṣ and Hišām (the rest read it as *baytī*).
5. *fa-ḍkurūniya ʾaḍkurkumū* (Q2:152) with *fathah* for Ibn Kaṭīr (*fa-ḍkurūnī* for the rest).^(P:85)
6. *biya laʿallahum* (Q2:186) with *fathah* for Warš (the rest read *bī*).
7. *minniya ʾillā man* (Q2:249) with *fathah* for Nāfiʿ and ʿAbū ʿAmr (the rest read *minnī*).
8. *rabbī llaḍī* (Q2:258) with no vowel for Ḥamzah (the rest read *rabbīya*).

F.2.2. [Removed *yāʾ*s of Q2]

There are three removed ones:¹⁶

1. *ad-dāʿī ʾiḍā*
2. *daʿānī* (Q2:186): in connected speech Warš and ʿAbū ʿAmr maintain (the *yāʾ*) (the rest removes it: *ad-dāʿī ʾiḍā daʿānī*).
3. *wa-ttaqūnī yā ʾulī l-ʾalbāb* (Q2:197): in connected speech ʿAbū ʿAmr maintains (the *yāʾ*) (the rest removes it: *wa-ttaqūnī*).

¹⁶ 'Removed ones' refers to word-final *yāʾ*s which, especially in verse-final position, are often unwritten in the Qurʾānic text where classical orthography would expect them. Readers differ on whether and when these *yāʾ*s are reconstituted in recitation or not.

'Abū 'Amr [al-Dānī] said: I will proceed like this at the end of the *sūrahs* with regard to the *yā's*. I will (mention the minority reading and) leave out what the rest of them read, be it a *fath* or no vowel, and be it a case of maintenance or removal (of the *yā'*), because ambiguity is removed for all of that (because when *fathah* is given, the *'iskān* form is what everybody else reads, and *vice versa* and when the maintenance is given, what everybody else reads is with the removal of *yā'* and *vice versa*). Success comes from God.

F.3. Sūrat 'Āl 'Imrān

3: 'Abū 'Amr, Ibn Ḍakwān and al-Kisā'i read *at-tawrēh* with *'imālah* in all the Qur'ān. Nāfi' and Ḥamzah read it in between the two sounds (i.e., *at-tawrāh*), and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *at-tawrāh*). For Qālūn I recited it like that too.

12: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *sa-yuḡlabūna wa-yuḥṣarūna* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *sa-tuḡlabūna wa-tuḥṣarūna*).

13: Nāfi' reads *tarawnahum* with *tā'* and the rest read it with *yā'* (i.e., *yarawnahum(ū)*).

15: 'Abū Bakr reads *wa-ruḍwān* with *ḍammah* of the *rā'* everywhere except for the second occurrence in al-Mā'idah (Q5:16), and that is His speech *man ittaba'a riḍwānahū*. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *rā'* (i.e., *riḍwān*).^(P:86)

19: Al-Kisā'i reads *'anna d-dīna 'inda llāhi* with *fathah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *'inna*).

21: Ḥamzah reads *wa-yuqātilūna llaḍīna* with an *'alif*, *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and *kasrah* of the *tā'* as *al-qitāl* (i.e., stem III verb). The rest read it without *'alif*, with *fathah* on the *yā'* and *ḍammah* on the *tā'* as *al-qatl* (i.e., stem I verb, so *yaqtulūna*).

27: Nāfi', Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *al-ḥayya min al-mayyiti, al-mayyita min al-ḥayyi, 'ilā baladi mayyitin* and what is like it when someone has died, with an extra vowel (i.e., with a bisyllabic stem *mayyit*). The rest read it without an extra vowel (i.e., *mayt*).

36: 'Abū Bakr and Ibn 'Āmir read *bi-mā waḍa'tu* with no vowel on the *'ayn* and *ḍammah* on the *tā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *'ayn* and no vowel on the *tā'* (i.e., *waḍa'tat*).

37: The Kufans read *wa-kaffalahā* with gemination of the *fā'* and the rest read it without gemination (i.e., *wa-kafalahā*).

'Abū Bakr reads *zakariyyā'a* with *naṣb* of the *hamzah*, and Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i drop the case vowels of *zakariyyā* and its *hamzah*, here and throughout the whole Qur'ān. The rest applies the *raḡ* here (i.e., *zakariyyā'u*), and apply case vowels to it whenever it

occurs. If it is adjacent to a *hamzah*, 'Abū Bakr and Ibn 'Āmir pronounce the *hamzah* strongly (i.e., Q19:2–3 *zakariyyā'a* // 'iḏ), whereas the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr pronounce it softly (i.e., *zakariyyā.a* 'iḏ).¹⁷

39: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *fa-nādēhu l-malā'ikatu* with 'alif with 'imālah and the rest with *tā'* without the 'alif (i.e., *fa-nādathu l-malā'ikatu*).

Ḥamzah and Ibn 'Āmir read 'inna *llāha yubašširuka/yabšuruka bi-yahyā/ē* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah*, and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., 'anna *llāha*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *yabšuruka* in two places here (Q3:39, 45), and in Subḥān¹⁸ (Q17:9) and Kahf (Q18:2) *wa-yabšuru* with *fathah* on the *yā'*, no vowel on the *bā'*, *ḍammah* on the *šīn* and no gemination in these four places.

Ḥamzah reads in al-Tawbah (Q9:21) *yabšuruhum*, in al-Ḥiğr (Q15:53) 'innā *nabšuruka* and in Maryam (Q19) 'innā *nabšuruka* (Q19:7) and *li-tabšura bihī* (Q19:97) with this derivation in these four places as well. The rest read it with *ḍammah* of the first letter, a *kasrah* on a geminate *šīn* for all of these (i.e., *yubašširuhum(ū)*, etc.).^(P:87)

47: *kun fa-yakūnu* has already been mentioned.¹⁹

48: Nāfi' and 'Āṣim read *wa-yu'allimuhū* with *yā'* and the rest with *nūn* (i.e., *wa-nu'al-limuhū*).

49: Nāfi' reads 'innī 'aḥluqu with *kasrah* on the *hamzah*. The rest has *fathah* (i.e., 'annī 'aḥluqu).

Nāfi' reads *fa-yakūnu ṭā'iran* here and in al-Mā'idah (Q5:110) with 'alif and *hamzah* according to the singular. The rest read it without 'alif or *hamzah* according to the plural (i.e., according to the collective *ṭayran*).

57: Ḥafṣ reads *fa-yawaffāhum* with *yā'* and the rest read it with *nūn* (i.e., *fa-na-waffā/ē/āhum(ū)*).

66: Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr read *hā .antum* whenever it occurs with length without a *hamzah*. Warš is lesser in length (i.e., *ha .antum*).²⁰ Qunbul reads it with *hamzah* without 'alif after

¹⁷ The details of this softening of the *hamzah* have already been discussed in U.11.2.

¹⁸ Pretzl has *سبح* (al-Dānī 2008a, 35). Subḥān is an alternative name for Sūrat al-'Isrā' (Kandīl 1992, 50).

¹⁹ See F.2:117.

²⁰ Al-Dānī's description is somewhat imprecise and unclear here. Ibn al-Ġazārī understands the description as indicating *ha .antum* (Ibn al-Ġazārī 2018, §1512). However, since al-Dānī interprets the

the *hā'* (i.e., *ha-'antumū*). The rest read it with length and *hamzah* (i.e., *hā 'antum*), but al-Bazzī shortened the overlong vowel in accordance with his general principle (i.e., *hā 'antumū*).²¹

As for the *hā'* in the manner of 'Abū 'Amr, Qālūn and Hišām, it is possible for it to be taken as a demonstrative or as the replacement of the *hamzah* (as an interrogative)²² (i.e., *hā 'antum* with demonstrative *hā-* or *'a-'antum* → *'ā-.antum*²³ → *hā-.antum*).

For Qunbul (*'a-'antumū* → *ha-'antumū*) and Warš (*'a-'antum* → *'a-.antum* → *ha-.antum*) it is only possible to take it as the replacement (of *hamzah*) and nothing else.

In the manner of the Kufans, al-Bazzī and Ibn Ḍakwān, it can only be a demonstrative. (These readers do not lengthen the vowel of the question particle *'a-* before *hamzah*, *'a-'antum(ū)* → *ha-'antum(ū)*; since they read it with a long vowel, it can only be interpreted as demonstrative *hā* + *'antum(ū)*.)

Whoever takes it as a demonstrative and makes a distinction between (applying overlength to) long vowels depending on whether (the following *hamzah*) occurs within or without a word boundary, must not add overlength to the *'alif*, regardless of whether the *hamzah* after it is pronounced hard or pronounced soft (i.e., there is no overlength for Qālūn or 'Abū 'Amr *hā .antum* or al-Bazzī's *hā 'antumū*, because *hā* is considered a separate word if it is understood as a demonstrative and those readers do not have overlong vowels before *hamz* across word boundaries).

ha- of Warš as being derived from the interrogative *'a-* and he mentions the option to contract *'a.a* to *'ā* (see U.11.1.), it is conceivable that al-Dānī implicitly condones the reading *hāntum* as well. This option is explicitly mentioned in *al-Šāṭibiyyah* which suggests that, whether al-Dānī intended it or not, al-Dānī's description appears to have been interpreted as endorsing the option *hāntum* by al-Šāṭibī (al-Šāṭibī 2010, line 559). Al-Dānī does explicitly mention this option in the *Ġāmi'* *al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 968).

²¹ The words *hā 'antumū* are seen as having a word-boundary between them. As Ibn Kaṭīr does not have an overlong vowel with long vowels before *hamzah* between two words, this is not lengthened (see U.11.2.).

²² This refers to a recognised possibility by grammarians to replace the *hamzah* of the interrogative particle *'a-* with a *hā'* (Saeed 2023, 83).

²³ See U.11.1. for the insertion of an *'alif* with the question particle *'a-* before *hamz*.

Those who take it as an interrogative among those who pronounce the *ʿalif* overlong only within word boundaries must add length to it regardless of whether the *hamzah* is pronounced hard or soft (i.e., *ʿAbū ʿAmr*, *Qālūn* when taking it as an interrogative pronounce it *hâ.antum*, and *al-Bazzī* as *hâʿantum(ū)*). All of this is based on general principles and happens because of those manners.²⁴ (P:88)

73: *Ibn Kaṭīr* reads *ʿa-an yuʿtā* with length²⁵ as a question, while the rest have it without length as a non-interrogative statement (i.e., *ʿan*).

75: *ʿAbū Bakr*, *ʿAbū ʿAmr* and *Ḥamzah* read *yuʿaddih ʿilayka, lā yuʿaddih ʿilayka* and *nuʿūtih minhā* in two places (here and in Q3:145) and in *al-Nisāʾ nuwallih* and *nuṣlih* (Q4:115), and in *ʿAyn-Sīn-Qāf*²⁶ *nuʿūtih minhā* (Q42:20) without a vowel on the *hāʾ* in all seven.

Qālūn reads it with a shortened²⁷ *kasrah* on the *hāʾ* (i.e., *yuʿaddihī*, etc.), and *al-Ḥulwānī*²⁸ transmits it like that from *Hišām* for all that is mentioned in this entry. The rest read it with full pronunciation of the *kasrah* (i.e., *yuʿaddihī*, etc.). In pause all of them pronounce them without a final vowel (i.e., *yuʿaddih#*, etc.).

79: The *Kufans* and *Ibn ʿĀmir* reads *tuʿallimūna l-kitāba* with *ḍammah* on the *tāʾ*, *fathah* on the *ʿayn* and *kasrah* on the geminate *lām*. The rest read it with *fathah* of the *tāʾ*, an ungeminated *lām* and no vowel on the *ʿayn* (*taʿlamūna*).

80: *ʿAṣīm*, *Ḥamzah* and *Ibn ʿĀmir* read *wa-lā yaʿmurakum* with *naṣb* of the *rāʾ* and the rest read it with *rafʿ* (i.e., *yaʿāmurukum(ū)*). *ʿAbū ʿAmr* reads it according to his principle with an ultrashort vowel or no vowel (i.e., *yaʿāmurūkum, yaʿāmurkum*).

²⁴ See U.11.1.

²⁵ Note that *al-Dānī* refers to a *hamzah* followed by another *hamzah* pronounced *bayna bayn* as *madd* ‘length’. This is ambiguous because he also calls a *hamzah* followed by *ā* *madd*. The wording therefore also allows the reading *ʿān*. *Al-Dānī* is explicit that the intended reading is *ʿa-an* in his *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān* (*al-Dānī* 2007, 970).

²⁶ An alternate name for *Sūrat al-Šūrā* (*Kandil* 1992, 51).

²⁷ *Ḥtilās* normally means ‘ultrashort’, but it is technically a relative term, i.e., shorter than its *ʿaṣl* ‘base’. As the base is *yuʿaddihī*, *Ḥtilās* should be simply understood here to mean a normal-length *kasrah*, *-hi*. See I.4.2.

²⁸ The *Taysīr* only has *ʿisnāds* for *Hišām* that go through *al-Ḥulwānī*. The *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān* has other paths, but few seem to have explicit information on this topic (*al-Dānī* 2007, 980–81).

81: Ḥamzah reads *an-nabiyyīna limā* with *kasrah* of the *lām* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *lamā*).

Nāfi' reads *'āṭaynākum* with *nūn* and *'alif* according to the plural. The rest read it with a *tā'* carrying a *ḍammah* according to the singular (*'āṭaytukum(ū)*).

83: Ḥafṣ and 'Abū 'Amr read *yabgūna* with *yā'* and Ḥafṣ reads *wa-'īlayhi yurḡa'ūna* with *yā'*. The rest read both with *tā'* (i.e., *tabgūna* and *turḡa'ūna*; 'Abū 'Amr has *yabgūna* but *turḡa'ūna*).^(P:89)

97: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *ḥiḡḡu l-bayti* with *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* and the rest read it with *fathah* (*ḥaḡḡu*).

115: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-mā yaf'alū min ḥayrin fa-lan yukfarūhu* with *yā'* for both and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *taf'alū ... tukfarūhu*).

120: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *lā yaḍurrukum* with *ḍammah* of the *ḍād* and *raf'* in the *rā'* with gemination (of the *rā'*). The rest read it with *kasrah* of the *rā'* and with apocopation of the *rā'* (i.e., *yaḍirkum(ū)*).

124: Ibn 'Āmir reads *munazzalīna* and in al-'Ankabūt *'innā munazzilūna* (Q29:34) with gemination in both. The rest read it without gemination (i.e., *munzalīna, munzilūna*).

125: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and 'Āṣim read *musawwimīna* with *kasrah* on the *wāw* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *musawwamīna*).

133: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *sāri'ū* without *wāw* before the *sīn* and the rest with *wāw* (i.e., *wa-sāri'ū*).²⁹

140: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *qurḥun* in both places (in this verse) and *al-qurḥu* (Q3:172) with *ḍammah* on the *qāf* for all three places. The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *qarḥun, al-qarḥu*).

146: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *wa-kā'in* whenever it occurs with an overlong *'alif* and after it a *hamzah* that carries a *kasrah*. The rest read it with a *hamzah* that carries a *fathah* after the *kāf* and a geminate *yā'* that carries a *kasrah*, and after that no vowel at all on the *nūn* (i.e., *ka-'ayyin*). We have already mentioned it in the chapter on pausing on what is written in the script.³⁰

²⁹ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

³⁰ See U.18.

The Kufans and Ibn ‘Āmir read *qātala ma‘ahū* with ‘*alif* and *fathah* of the *qāf* and *tā’*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* of the *qāf* and *kasrah* on the *tā’* and without ‘*alif* (i.e., *qutīla*).^(P:90)

151: Ibn ‘Āmir and al-Kisā’ī read *ar-ru‘ub* and *ru‘uban* with an extra vowel whenever they occur. The rest read it without extra vowel (i.e., *ar-ru‘b* and *ru‘ban*).

154: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī read *tagšē tā’ifatan* with *tā’* and the rest with *yā’* (i.e., *yağšā/ā*).

‘Abū ‘Amr reads *kulluhū li-llāhi* with *raf‘* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *kullahū*).

156: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī read *wa-llāhu bi-mā ya‘lamūna baṣīrun* with *yā’* and the rest with *tā’* (i.e., *ta‘lamūna*).

157: Ibn Kaṭīr, ‘Abū ‘Amr, Ibn ‘Āmir and ‘Abū Bakr read *muttum*, *muttu* and *mutnā* with *ḍammah* on the *mīm* whenever they occur. Ḥafṣ follows them with *ḍammah* in the two words that occur in this *sūrah* only (i.e., Q3:157 *muttum* and Q3:158 *muttum*). The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *mīm* (i.e., *mittum*, *mittu*, *mitnā*).

Ḥafṣ reads *ḥayrun mimma yağma‘ūna* with *yā’* and the rest read it with *tā’* (i.e., *tağma‘ūna*).

161: Ibn Kaṭīr, ‘Abū ‘Amr and ‘Āṣim read ‘*an yağulla* with *fathah* on the *yā’* and *ḍammah* on the *ğayn*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *yā’* and *fathah* on the *ğayn* (i.e., *yuğalla*).

168: Hišām reads *mā quttilū* with gemination of the *tā’* and the rest read it ungeminated (i.e., *qutīlū*).

169: Ibn ‘Āmir reads *allaḍīna quttilū*, and in al-Ḥağğ *tumma quttilū* (Q22:58) with gemination of the *tā’* in both. The rest read it without gemination (i.e., *qutīlū*).

Hišām, according to my recitation to ‘Abū al-Faṭḥ, reads *wa-lā yaḥsabanna llaḍīna quttilū* with *yā’* and the rest with *tā’* (i.e., *taḥsa/ibanna*).³¹

171: Al-Kisā’ī reads *wa-‘inna llāha lā yuḍī‘u* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah*, and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *wa-‘anna*).

176: Nāfi‘ reads *wa-lā yuḥzinka*, *la-yuḥzinunī* (Q12:13) and *li-yuḥzina llaḍīna* (Q58:10) with *ḍammah* on the *yā’* and *kasrah* on the *zāy* whenever it occurs, except for His speech in

³¹ Hišām is only transmitted through *tilāwah* by ‘Abū al-Faṭḥ in the *Taysīr* (see U.4.4.2.), but the specific mention of ‘Abū al-Faṭḥ implies that al-Dānī knows other *tilāwah* transmission from Hišām that has *taḥsabanna*. This is indeed the case, as he points it out in the *Ġami‘ al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 994).

al-'Anbi'ā' (Q21:103) *lā yaḥzunuhum*, where he applies a *fathah* on the *yā'* and a *ḍammah* on the *zāy*. The rest does it like that for all of them (i.e., *wa-lā yaḥzunka* etc.).^(P:91)

178: Ḥamzah reads *wa-lā taḥsabanna llaḍīna kafarū* and *wa-lā taḥsabanna llaḍīna yabḥalūna* (Q3:180) with *tā'* in both. The Kufans read *lā taḥsa/ibanna llaḍīna yafrahūna* (Q3:188) with *tā'*. The rest read *yā'* in all three (i.e., *yaḥsa/ibanna*).

179: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *hattā yumayyiza* here and in al-'Anfāl (Q8:38) with *ḍammah* on the *yā'*, *fathah* on the *mīm* and *kasrah* on the geminate *yā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *yā'*, *kasrah* on the *mīm* and no vowel on the *yā'* (i.e., *yamiza*).

180: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *bimā ya'lamūna ḥabīrun* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *ta'lamūna*).

181: Ḥamzah reads *sa-yuktabu* with a *yā'* carrying *ḍammah* and with *fathah* on the *tā'*, *qatluhum* with *raf'* of the *lām* and *wa-yaqūlu* with *yā'*. The rest read it with a *nūn* carrying *fathah*, *ḍammah* on the *tā'*, *naṣb* of the *lām* and *nūn* on *yaqūlu* (i.e., *sa-naktubu ... wa-qatlahum(ū) ... wa-naqūlu*).

184: Hišām reads *wa-bi-z-zuburi wa-bi-l-kitābi* with the addition of *bā'* to both. [And like this Hišām wrote it in his book from his teachers from Ibn 'Āmir and he told that the *rasm* was like this in his *muṣḥafs*].³² Farīs b. 'Aḥmad reported to me, and he said: 'Abd al-Bāqī b. al-Ḥasan reported to us and said: al-Ḥulwānī was doubtful about this, so he wrote to Hišām about it, and he answered that the *bā'* is present on both words (i.e., *wa-bi-z-zuburi wa-bi-l-kitābi*). Ibn Ḍakwān reads it with the addition of *bā'* to *az-zuburi* only (i.e., *wa-bi-zuburi wa-l-kitābi*), and the rest without the *bā'* on both (i.e., *wa-z-zuburi wa-l-kitābi*).³³ (P:92)

187: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and 'Abū Bakr read *li-yubayyinunnahū* and *wa-lā yaktumūnahū* with *yā'* on both, and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *li-tubayyinunnahū* and *wa-lā taktumūnahū*).

³² This is an addition in one of the manuscripts that Pretzl consulted. Al-Ḍāmin includes it without making mention of manuscripts that lack it. I have found it in both the Berlin and Paris manuscripts, and in one of the four Princeton manuscripts (Islamic Manuscripts, Garrett no. 213Y). It is unlikely to be an addition of later copyists; it has either been dropped out, or it points to a later recension of *al-Taysir* with this added by al-Dānī. Hišām indeed appears to have had a book describing Ibn 'Āmir's reading, and al-Dānī had access to it, as he cites it several times in his *Ġāmi' al-bayān* as well (Hamdan 2018, 55, fn. 4).

³³ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

188: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *fa-lā yaḥsibunnahum(ū)* with *yā'* and *ḍammah* on the *bā'*. The rest read with *tā'* and *fathah* on the *bā'* (i.e., *taḥsa/ibannahum*).

195: Ibn Kaṭīr and Ibn 'Amīr read *quttilū* here³⁴ and in al-'An'ām *allaḍīna qattalū* (Q6:140) with gemination of the *tā'* in both words. The rest read it without gemination for both (i.e., *qutilū, qatalū*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *qutilū wa-qātalū* and in al-Tawbah (Q9:111) *fa-yuqṭalūna wa-yaqṭulūna*, so they begin with the passive before the active in both. The rest begins with the active before the passive (i.e., *qātalū wa-qutilū/quttilū, fa-yaqṭulūna wa-yuqṭalūna*).

F.3.1. [*Yā's* of Q3]

There are six *yā's*:

1. *wa-waḡhiya li-llāhi* (Q3:20) is read with *fathah* by Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥafṣ.
2. *minniya 'innaka* (Q3:35) and
3. *'aḡ'al liya 'āyatan* (Q3:41) are read with *fathah* by Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr.
4. Nāfi' reads with *fathah* both *'inniya 'u'īḍuhā* (Q3:36)
5. and *man 'anṣāriya 'ilā llāhi* (Q3:52).
6. The two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr read *'anniya 'aḥluqu* with *fathah*.

F.3.2. [Removed *yā's* of Q3]

There are two removed ones:

1. Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr retain [the *yā'*] in connected speech of *wa-man ittaba'anī* (Q3:20).
2. 'Abū 'Amr retains [the *yā'*] in connected speech of *wa-ḥāfūnī 'in kuntum* (Q3:175).

F.4. Sūrat al-Nisā'

1: The Kufans read *tasā'alūna* without gemination of the *sīn* and the rest read it with gemination (i.e., *tassā'alūna*).

Ḥamzah reads *wa-l-'arḥāmi* with *ḥafḍ* of the *mīm* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *wa-l-(')arḥāma*).^(P:93)

5: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *qiyaman* without *'alif* and the rest with *'alif* (i.e., *qiyāman*).

³⁴ The word *hunā* is missing in Pretzl (al-Dānī 2008a, 36).

9: *ḍi'ē/āfan ḥē/āfū* has already been mentioned.³⁵

10: 'Abū Bakr and Ibn 'Āmir read *sa-yuṣlawna* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *sa-yaṣlawna*).

11: Nāfi' reads *wa-'in kānat wāḥidatun* with *raf'* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *wāḥidatan*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *fa-li-'ummihi* in the two words (in this verse), in *al-Qaṣaṣ fī 'ummihi* (Q28:59) and in *Zuḥruf fī 'ummi l-kitābi* (Q43:4), with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* in all four when pronounced in connected speech. The rest pronounce it with *ḍammah* in both contexts (in connected speech and when starting on the word) (i.e., *fa-li-'ummihi*, *fī 'ummihi* and *fī 'ummi l-kitābi*).

When *al-'umm* is made plural and there is *kasrah* next to its *hamzah*—this altogether occurs in four places: in *al-Naḥl min buṭūni 'imma/ihātikum* (Q16:78), and like that in *al-Nūr* (Q24:61), in *al-Zumar* (Q39:5) and *al-Naḡm* (Q53:32)—Ḥamzah applies the *kasrah* to the *hamzah* and the *mīm* (i.e., *'immihātikum*) in connected speech, whereas al-Kisā'i applies the *kasrah* to the *hamzah* in connected speech but *fathah* to the *mīm* (i.e., *'immahātikum*). The rest applies *ḍammah* to the *hamzah* and *fathah* to the *mīm* (i.e., *'ummahātikum*) in both contexts (connected speech and starting on the word). When starting on the word, everybody reads all these places with *ḍammah* on the *hamzah* in the singular (i.e., *'ummihi* etc.), and *ḍammah* on (the *hamzah*) and *fathah* on the *mīm* in the plural (i.e., *'ummahātikum(ū)*).

Ibn Kaṭīr, Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū Bakr read *yūṣā bihā* in both places (Q4:11, 12) with *fathah* on the *ṣād* and Ḥaṣṣ follows them only in the second case. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *ṣād* on both (i.e., *yūṣi bihā*).

13: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *nudḥilhu* in both instances of the word (Q4:13, 14) with *nūn* and the rest with a *yā'* (i.e., *yudḥilhū*).

16: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *wa-llaḍānni* [here], in *Ṭāhā hāḍānni* (Q20:63), in *al-Ḥaḡḡ hāḍānni* (Q19:22), in *al-Qaṣaṣ hātayyyynni* (Q28:27) and in *Fuṣṣilat 'arnā llaḍayyyynni* (Q41:29) with gemination of the *nūn* and making the *'alif* and *yā'* overlong before it in these five cases. The rest read it without gemination, without making the *'alif* and the *yā'* overlong (i.e., *wa-llaḍāni, hāḍāni, hātayni*).^(P:94)

19: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *kurhan* here and in *al-Tawbah* (Q9:53) with *ḍammah* on the *kāf* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *karhan*).

³⁵ See U.13.3.

Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū Bakr read *bi-fāḥiṣatin mubayyanatin* here, in al-'Aḥzāb (Q33:30) and in al-Ṭalāq (Q56:1) with *fathah* on the *yā'*. The rest read it with *kasrah* for all of them (i.e., *mubayyinatin*).

24: Al-Kisā'i reads *al-muḥṣināt* and *muḥṣināt* with *kasrah* on the *ṣād* whenever it occurs, except for the first occurrence in this *sūrah*, *al-muḥṣanāt min an-nisā'i* (i.e., Q4:24). The rest read them with *fathah* on the *ṣād* (i.e., *al-muḥṣanāt*, *muḥṣanāt*).

Ḥaḥṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-'uḥilla lakum* with *ḍammah* on the *hamzah* and *kasrah* on the *ḥā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on both (i.e., *'aḥalla*).

25: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *fa-'idā 'aḥṣanna* with *fathah* on the *hamzah* and the *ṣād*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *hamzah* and *kasrah* on the *ṣād* (i.e., *'uḥsinna*).

29: The Kufans read *tiğāratun* with *naṣb* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *tiğāratun*).

31: Nāfi' reads *madḥalan* here and in al-Ḥaḡḡ (Q22:59) with *fathah* on the *mīm*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *mudḥalan*).

32: Ibn Kaṭīr and al-Kisā'i read *wa-salū llaḥa min faḍliḥi*, *wa-salḥū* and *fa-sal illaḍina* and what is like it without *hamzah* when it is an imperative and before the *sīn* there is a *wāw* or a *fā'*. Ḥamzah does the same according to his regular principle in pause.³⁶ The rest read it with *hamzah* (i.e., *wa-s'al*, *wa-s'alū*, *wa-s'al-hu*, *fa-s'al*).^(P:95)

33: The Kufans read *wa-llaḍina 'aqadat* without *'alif* and the rest read it with *'alif* (i.e., *'āqadat*).

37: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *al-baḥal* here and in al-Ḥadīd (Q54:24) with *fathah* on the *bā'* and *ḥā'*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *bā'* and no vowel on the *ḥā'* (i.e., *al-buḥl*).

40: The two of the holy cities read *wa-'in taku ḥasanatun* with *raf'* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *ḥasanatan*).

42: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *law tassawwā/ā* with *fathah* on the *tā'* and gemination of the *sīn*. Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read it with *fathah* on the *tā'* but no gemination of the *sīn* (i.e., *tasawwē*). The rest read it with *ḍammah* of the *tā'* and no gemination of the *sīn* (i.e., *tusawwā*).

43: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'a-wa-lamastum* here and in al-Mā'idah (Q5:6) without *'alif*. The rest read it with *'alif* (i.e., *'a-wa-lāmastum(ū)*).

³⁶ See U.11.6.1. The phrase 'in pause' is missing in the Pretzl edition. This must be a mistake (al-Dānī 2008a, 263).

49: *fatilan* // *i/unḍur*,³⁷ *inna llaḥa ni/a'(i/i)mmā* (Q4:58),³⁸ in *i/uqtulū* (Q4:66)³⁹ and *'aw i/uḥruḡū*⁴⁰ have already been mentioned.

66: Ibn 'Āmir reads *'illā qalīlan minhum* with *naṣb* and with an *'alif* when pausing (i.e., *qalīlā#*). The rest read it with *raf'* (i.e., *qalīlun*) and pause on it without *'alif* (i.e., *qalīl#*).⁴¹

73: Ibn Kaṭīr and Ḥaṣṣ read *ka-'an lam takun* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yakun*).

77: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-lā yuḍlamūna fatilan*, that is the second one (to occur in this *sūrah*, the first being Q4:49), with *yā'*. The rest read it with *tā'* (i.e., *tuḍlamūna*). There is no disagreement with the first in that it is with *yā'*.

81: 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥamzah read *bayyaṭ-ṭā'ifatun minhum* with assimilation of the *tā'* to the *ṭā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *tā'* and without assimilation (i.e., *bayyata ṭā'ifatun*).^(P:96)

87: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-man 'azdaq, yaḏdifūna*,⁴² *taḏdiyah, yuḏdira/yaḏduru, qaḏd* and what is like it, whenever an unvowelled *ṣād* occurs with a *dāl* afterwards, with *'iṣmām* of the *zāy* to the *ṣād* (i.e., *ḡ [zʿ]*). The rest pronounced it with pure *ṣād* (i.e., *'aṣdaq, etc.*).

94: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *fa-taṭabbatū* in both places, here and in al-Ḥuḡurāt (Q49:6), with *tā'* and *ṭā'* of (the verb) *al-taṭabbut*. The rest read it with *yā'* and *nūn* (i.e., *fa-tabayyanū*).

Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'ilaykumu s-salama lasta mu'/ūminan*, and it is the last one (treated this way, the other cases of *'ilaykumu s-salama* [Q4:90, 91] are read this way by all) without the *'alif*. The rest read it with *'alif* (i.e., *as-salāma*).

95: Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir and al-Kisā'i read *ḡayra 'ulī ḡ-ḡarari* with *naṣb* of the *rā'* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *ḡayru*).

114: Ḥamzah and 'Abū 'Amr read *fa-sawfa yu'/ūtīhi 'aḡran* with *yā'* and the rest with *nūn* (i.e., *nu'/ūtīhi*).

³⁷ See F.2:173.

³⁸ See F.2:271.

³⁹ See F.2:173.

⁴⁰ See F.2:173.

⁴¹ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

⁴² Pretzl has *يُصَدِّقُونَ*. This does not occur in the Qur'ān (al-Dānī 2008a, 36).

124: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and 'Abū Bakr read *yudḥalūna l-ğannata* here, in Maryam (Q19:60) and Ġāfir (Q40:40) with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and *fathah* on the *ḥā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *yā'* and *ḍammah* on the *ḥā'* (i.e., *yadhulūna*).

128: The Kufans read *'an yuṣliḥā* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'*, without a vowel on the *ṣād* and *kasrah* on the *lām*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *yā'*, *ṣād* and *lām*, with gemination of the *ṣād* and retention of the *'alif* after it (i.e., *yaṣṣālahā*).

135: Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah read *wa-'in talū* with *ḍammah* on the *lām* and no vowel on the *wāw*. The rest read it without a vowel on the *lām* and after it two *wāws*, the first of which carries a *ḍammah* and the second carries no vowel (i.e., *talwū*).^(P:97)

136: The Kufans and Nāfi' read *allaḍi nazzala* and *allaḍi 'anzala* with *fathah* on the *nūn*, *hamzah* and *zāy*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *nūn* [and *hamzah*], and with *kasrah* on the *zāy* (i.e., *nuzzila*, *'unzila*).

140: 'Āṣim reads *wa-qad nazzala* with *fathah* on the *nūn* and *zāy*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *nūn* and *kasrah* on the *zāy* (i.e., *nuzzila*).

145: The Kufans read *fī d-darki* without a vowel on the *rā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *ad-daraki*).

152: Ḥaṣṣ reads *sawfa yu'tihim 'uğūrahum* with *yā'* and the rest with *nūn* (i.e., *nu'/ūtihim(ū)*).

154: Warš reads *lā ta'addū* with *fathah* on the *'ayn* and gemination of the *dāl*. Qālūn reads it with an ultrashort vowel on the *'ayn* (*bi-'ihfā'i ḥarakati l-'ayn*) and gemination of the *dāl* (*ta'āddū*) but texts transmitted from him have it without a vowel (i.e., *ta'ddū*).⁴³ The rest read it with no vowel on the *'ayn* and no gemination on the *dāl* (*ta'dū*).

162: Ḥamzah reads *sa-yu'tihim* with *yā'* and the rest with *nūn* (*sa-nu'tihim(ū)*).

⁴³ Qālūn had a book that described his recitation of Nāfi' (Hamdan 2018, 37). It appears that this early work lacked the sophistication to express the concept of an epenthetic ultrashort vowel, and thus he described it as *bi-'iskān* 'without a vowel'. However, the oral tradition apparently places an epenthetic vowel here. See also the discussion in the *Ġāmi'* *al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 1020–21) where al-Dānī seems to explicitly prefer the *ta'ddū* reading calling it *'ātar* 'better supported by sources'.

163: Ḥamzah reads *zubūran* here, in Subḥān⁴⁴ (Q17:55) and in al-'Anbi'ā' fī z-zubūri (Q21:105), in these three places with *ḍammah* on the *zāy*. The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *zabūran*, *az-zabūri*).

In this *sūrah*, there are no *yā*'s that are disagreed upon at all.

F.5. Sūrat al-Mā'idah

2: 'Abū 'Amr and Ibn 'Āmir read *šan'ānu qawmin* in two places (here and in Q5:8) with no vowel on the *nūn*, and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *šana'ānu*).

Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *'in ṣaddūkum(ū)* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *'an*).

6: Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir, al-Kisā'i and Ḥafṣ read *wa-'arḡulakum* with *naṣb* of the *lām* and the rest with *ḡarr* (i.e., *'arḡulikum(ū)*).^(P:98)

5: *al-muḥṣanāt*⁴⁵ and *'aw lamastum*⁴⁶ (Q5:6) have already been mentioned.

13: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *qulūbahum qasiyyatan* with gemination of the *yā*' and without *'alif*. The rest read it without gemination and with *'alif* (i.e., *qāsiyyatan*).

32: *rus(u)lunā* has already been mentioned.⁴⁷

42: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i read *li-s-suḥuti* in three places (here, Q5:62 and Q6:63) with *ḍammah* on the *ḥā*' and the rest read it without a vowel (*li-s-suḥti*).

45: Al-Kisā'i reads *wa-l-'aynu bi-l-'ayni* and what comes after it (i.e., *wa-l-'anfu bi-l-'anfi wa-l-'uḍunu bi-l-'uḍuni wa-s-sinnu bi-sinni*, *wa-l-ḡurūḥu*) with *raf'*. Ibn Kaṭīr, Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū 'Amr only have the *raf'* for *al-ḡurūḥu*. The rest read all of these with *naṣb* (i.e., *wa-l-'ayna bi-l-'ayni*, etc.).

Nāfi' reads *al-(')uḍna bi-l-(')uḍni* and *fī 'uḍnayhi* (Q31:7) with no vowel on the *dāl* whenever it occurs, and the rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *al-'uḍuni*, etc.).

47: Ḥamzah reads *wa-li-yahkuma 'ahlu* with *kasrah* on the *lām* and *naṣb* on the *mīm*. The rest read it with no vowel on the *lām* and *ḡazm* on the *mīm* (i.e., *wa-l-yahkum*). Warṣ

⁴⁴ Again, Pretzl has سجن for Subḥān (al-Dānī 2008a, 267). Subḥān is an alternative name for Sūrat al-'Isrā' (Kandil 1992, 50).

⁴⁵ See F.4:24.

⁴⁶ See F.4:43.

⁴⁷ See F.2:285.

applies the vowel of the *hamzah* of 'ahlu to it (the *mīm*) in accordance with his general principle (i.e., *wa-l-yahkum ahlu*).⁴⁸

50: Ibn 'Āmir reads *tabgūna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yabgūna*).

53: The two of the holy cities and Ibn 'Āmir read *yaqūlu llāḍīna* without *wāw* before the *yā'*. The rest read it with *wāw*. 'Abū 'Amr applied the *naṣb* to the *lām* (i.e., *wa-yaqūla*) but the rest read it with *raf'* (i.e., *wa-yaqūlu*).⁴⁹

54: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *man yartadid* with two *dāls* where the second one carries no vowel. The rest read it with one geminate (*dāl*) that carries a *fathah* (*man yartadda*).⁵⁰ (P:99)

57: 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i read *al-kuffē/āri 'awliyā'a* with *ḥafḍ* of the *rā'*, and the rest with *naṣb* (*al-kuffāra*).

60: Ḥamzah reads 'abuda with *ḍammah* on the *bā'* and *aṭ-ṭāgūti* with *ḥafḍ* of the *tā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *bā'* and *naṣb* of the *tā'* (i.e., 'abada ṭ-ṭāgūta).

67: Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū Bakr read *fa-mā balaḡat risālātihi* in the plural with *kasrah* on the *tā'*, and the rest read it in the singular with *naṣb* of the *tā'* (i.e., *risālatahū*).

71: 'Abū 'Amr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read 'al-lā takūnu with *raf'* of the *nūn* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *takūna*).

89: Ibn Ḍakwān reads *bimā 'āqattum* with 'alif without gemination, but 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read it without gemination and without 'alif (i.e., 'aqattum). The rest read it with gemination and without 'alif (i.e., 'aqqattum(ū)).

95: The Kufans said *fa-ḡazā'un* with nunation and *miṭlu mā* with *raf'* of the *lām*. The rest read it without nunation and with *ḥafḍ* of the *lām* (i.e., *fa-ḡazā'u miṭli mā*).

Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read 'aw *kaffāratu ṭa'āmi* as a construct and the rest read it with *tanwīn* and *raf'* of the *mīm* (i.e., 'aw *kaffāratun ṭa'āmu*). They did not disagree on the pluralisation of *masākina* here.⁵¹

98: Ibn 'Āmir reads *qiyaman li-n-nāsi* without 'alif and the rest with 'alif (i.e., *qiyāman*).

107: Ḥafṣ reads *min allaḍīna staḥaqqā* with *fathah* on the *tā'* and *ḥā'* and, when starting (on this word), *kasrah* on the 'alif (i.e., #*'istaḥaqqā*). The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *tā'*

⁴⁸ See U.11.4.

⁴⁹ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

⁵⁰ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

⁵¹ Unlike F.2:184. and F.34:15., where the *miskīn/masākīn* is disagreed upon.

and *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* (i.e., *stuḥiqqa*) and, when they start (on this word), with *ḍammah* on the *ʾalif* (i.e., *#ʾustuḥiqqa*).

ʾAbū Bakr and Ḥamzah read *ʿalayhi/umu l-ʾawwalīna* in the plural and the rest read *al-ʾawlayāni* in the dual.^(P:100)

109: ʾAbū Bakr and Ḥamzah read *al-ḡiyūb* with *kasrah* on the *ʿayn* whenever it occurs (here and Q5:116; Q9:78; Q34:48), and the rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *al-ḡuyūb*).

110: *ṭayran/tāʾiran*⁵² and *qud(u)s*⁵³ have already been mentioned.

110: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *ʾillā sāḥirun* here, in Hūd (Q11:7) and in al-Ṣaff (Q61:6), with an *ʾalif* in all three cases. The rest read it without *ʾalif* (i.e., *siḥrun*).

112: Al-Kisāʾī reads *ḥat-tastaṭīʿu rabbaka* with *tāʾ*, assimilation of the *lām* and *naṣb* of the *bāʾ*. The rest read it with *yāʾ* and *rafʿ* of the *bāʾ* (*ḥal yastaṭīʿu rabbuka*).

115: Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿĀmir and ʿĀṣim read *ʾinnī munazziluhā* with gemination and the rest without gemination (i.e., *munziluhā*).

119: Nāfiʿ reads *ḥāḍā yawma* with the *naṣb* of the *mīm* and the rest with the *rafʿ* (i.e., *yawmu*).

F.5.1. [Yā's of Q5]

There are six *yā's*:

1. *yadiya ʾilayka* (Q5:28) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ, ʾAbū ʿAmr and Ḥafṣ.
2. *ʾinniya ʾaḥāfu* (Q5:28) and
3. *liya ʾan ʾaqūla* (Q5:116) both with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and ʾAbū ʿAmr.
4. *ʾinniya ʾuridu* (Q55:29) and
5. *fa-ʾinniya ʾuʿaddibuhū* both with *fathah* for Nāfiʿ.
6. *wa-ʾummiya ʾilāhayni* (Q5:116) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿĀmir, ʾAbū ʿAmr and Ḥafṣ.

F.5.2. [Removed yā's of Q5]

There is a removed one: *wa-ḥṣawnī wa-lā* (Q5:44) maintains (its *yāʾ*) in connected speech by ʾAbū ʿAmr.

⁵² See F.3:49.

⁵³ See F.2:87.

F.6. Sūrat al-ʿAnʿām

16: ʿAbū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʿī read *man yaṣrif* with *fathah* on the *yāʾ* and *kasrah* on the *rāʾ*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* of the *yāʾ* and *fathah* of the *rāʾ* (i.e., *yuṣraf*).

23: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʿī read *tumma lam yakun* with *yāʾ* and the rest with *tāʾ* (i.e., *takun*).

Ibn Kaṭīr, Ibn ʿĀmir and Ḥafṣ read *fitnatuhum(ū)* with *rafʿ* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *fitnatahum*).^(P:101)

Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʿī read *wa-llāhi rabbanā* with *naṣb* of the *bāʾ* and the rest with *ḥafḍ* (i.e., *rabbīnā*).

27: Ḥamzah and Ḥafṣ read *wa-lā nukaddība* and *wa-nakūna* with *naṣb*, both the *bāʾ* and the *nūn*. Ibn ʿĀmir only reads *nakūna* with *naṣb*. The rest read both with *rafʿ* (i.e., *wa-lā nukaddību, wa-nakūnu*).

32: Ibn ʿĀmir reads *wa-la-dāru l-ʿāḥirati* with a single *lām* and *ḥafḍ* of the *tāʾ*.⁵⁴ The rest read it with two *lāms* and *rafʿ* of the *tāʾ* (i.e., *wa-la-d-dāru l-(ʿ)āḥiratu*).⁵⁵

Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿĀmir and Ḥafṣ read *ʿa-fa-lā taʿqilūna* here and in al-ʿAʿrāf (Q7:169) with *tāʾ* and the rest with *yāʾ* (i.e., *yaʿqilūna*).

33: Nāfiʿ and al-Kisāʿī read *lā yukdībūnaka* without gemination, and the rest with gemination (i.e., *lā yukaddībūnaka*).

40: Nāfiʿ reads *ʿa-ra.aytum, ʿa-ra.ayta, ʿa-fa-ra.ayta* and what is like it⁵⁶ with a softening of the *hamzah* which comes after the *rāʾ* whenever there is *hamzah* before the *rāʾ*. Al-Kisāʿī drops (the *hamzah*) regularly (i.e., *ʿa-raytum, ʿa-rayta, ʿa-fa-rayta*). The rest pronounce the *hamzah* (i.e., *ʿa-raʿaytum(ū)*, etc.), but Ḥamzah in pause follows Nāfiʿ.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ The Pretzl edition renders it incorrectly with two *lāms*. It should read ولدار الآخرة. Corrected by al-Dāmin (al-Dānī 2008a, 274).

⁵⁵ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

⁵⁶ This is different from the modern practice of Warš in the path of al-ʿAzraq, which allows this option, but seems to prefer replacing the *hamzah* with *ā*, thus creating overlong vowels like *ʿa-rāytum* because the *ā* stands before a two-consonant cluster (Ibn al-Ġazarī 2018, §1501–2).

⁵⁷ See U.11.6.1.

44: Ibn 'Āmir reads *fattaḥnā* 'alayhim here, in al-'A'rāf (Q7:96) and al-Qamar (Q54:11) and he reads *futtiḥat* in al-'Anbi'ā' (Q21:96), with gemination of the *tā'* in all four. The rest read it without gemination (i.e., *fataḥnā*, *futiḥat*).

52: Ibn 'Āmir reads *bi-l-ḡudwati* here and in al-Kahf (Q18:28) with *wāw* and *ḍammah* on the *ḡayn*. The rest read it with 'alif and *fathah* on the *ḡayn* (i.e., *bi-l-ḡadāti*).

54: 'Āṣim and Ibn 'Āmir read 'annahū man 'amila and fa-'annahū ḡafūrun raḥīmun with *fathah* on both *hamzahs*. Nāfi' only placed *fathah* on the first (i.e., 'annahū man 'amila but fa-'innahū ḡafūrun raḥīmun). The rest read it with *kasrah* on both (i.e., 'innahū man 'amila, fa-'innahū ḡafūrun raḥīmun).^(P:102)

55: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read *wa-li-yastabina* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *wa-li-tastabina*).

Nāfi' reads *sabila l-muḡrimīna* with *naṣb* of the *lām* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *sabilu*).

57: The two of the holy cities and 'Āṣim read *yaquṣṣu* with *ṣād* that carries a *ḍammah*. The rest read it with *dād* that carries a *kasrah* (i.e., *yaqḍi*), and when they pause on it, they view it as having no *yā'* following the written text (i.e., *yaqḍ#*, not *yaqḍi#*).

61: Ḥamzah reads *tawaffēhu rusulunā* and *istahwēhu* (Q6:71) with 'alif with 'imālah, and the rest read both with *tā'* (i.e., *tawaffathū* and *istahwathū*).

63: 'Abū Bakr reads *wa-ḥifyah* here and in al-'A'rāf (Q7:55) with *kasrah* on the *ḥā'*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *wa-ḥufyah*).

The Kufans read *la-'in 'anḡā/ēnā* with 'alif without *yā'* and the rest with *yā'* and *tā'* (i.e., 'anḡaytanā).⁵⁸

64: The Kufans and Hišām read *qul illāhu yunaḡḡikum* with gemination and the rest read it without gemination (i.e., *yunḡikum(ū)*).

68: Ibn 'Āmir reads 'immā yunassiyannaka with gemination and the rest without gemination (i.e., *yunsiyannaka*).

76: Ḥamzah, al-Kisā'ī, 'Abū Bakr and Ibn 'Āmir read *re'ē kawkaban*, *re'ē 'aydiyahum*, *re'ēhu* and what is like it for its pronunciation, whenever there is no unvowelled letter after the *yā'* (i.e., 'alif *maqṣūrah* not followed by 'alif *al-waṣl*), with 'imālah of the *fathah* of both the *rā'* and *hamzah*. Al-Naqqāš, transmitting from al-'Aḥfaš (← Ibn Ḍakwān), makes an exception from that which is followed by a pronominal suffix, for example, *ra'āka*, *ra'āhā*,

⁵⁸ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

ra'āhu, *fa-ra'āhu* with *fathah* on both the *rā'* and the *hamzah*. I recited it in that way to al-Fārisī, transmitting from him, and 'Abū al-Faṭḥ also taught me to recite like this, transmitting from his recitation to 'Abd al-Bāqī from his companions from al-'Aḥfaš.⁵⁹ (P:103)

Warš pronounces (the vowels) of *rā'* and *hamzah* in between the two sounds for all of it (i.e., *rā'ā*, *rā'āhu*, etc.). 'Abū 'Amr only applies 'imālah to the *hamzah* (i.e., *ra'ē*), and it was transmitted from 'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī] in the same way as Ḥamzah (i.e., *re'ē*). The rest read both with *fathah* (i.e., *ra'ā*).

77: Ḥamzah and 'Abū Bakr read *re'ā l-qamara*, *re'ā š-šamsa* and what is like it, whenever the *yā'* (i.e., 'alif with 'imālah) encounters a vowelless letter in the next word, with 'imālah only on the *rā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *ra'ā l-qamara*, *ra'ā š-šamsa*).

This is in the case in connected speech, but if you divide it from the quiescent letter (that follows) in pause, there is disagreement in accordance with what has preceded in (the discussion on) *ra'ā/re'ē/rā'ā kawkaban* (see F.6:76. above).

Ḥalaf has transmitted from Yaḥyā [b. 'Ādam] from 'Abū Bakr [Šu'bah],⁶⁰ and more than one from 'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī] that there is 'imālah of the *fathah* of the *rā'* and the *hamzah* in all of this, like the first (i.e., Q6:76) too (i.e., 'Abū Bakr reads *re'ē kawkaban/re'ē l-qamara*; al-Sūsī reads *re'ē kawkaban/re'ē l-qamara*).

'Abū 'Amr (al-Dānī) said: I have recited it in both ways. 'Abū Ḥamdūn and 'Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān [Ibn al-Yazīdī] transmitted it from al-Yazīdī with 'imālah of the *fathah* of the *hamzah* (i.e., *ra'ē l-qamara*), just like in the first case (i.e., *ra'ē kawkaban*). All of this is sound and practiced.

80: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir, with disagreement in transmission from Hišām, read 'a-*tuḥāğğūnī* without gemination on the *nūn* and the rest read it with gemination (i.e., 'a-*tuḥāğğūnnī*).

83: The Kufans read *narfa'u darağātīn* here and in Yūsuf (Q12:76) with *tanwīn*, and the rest without *tanwīn* (i.e., *darağāti*).

⁵⁹ This transmission path is not present in U.4.4.1. but it is mentioned in al-Dānī's *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 334).

⁶⁰ This 'isnād for Šu'bah is not present in U.4.5.1., but it is mentioned in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 345). This same transmission is also reported by Ibn Muğāhid, where the 'isnād is likewise not present in the 'isnād section (Ibn Muğāhid 1972, 261).

86: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-l-laysa'a* here and in Šād (Q38:48) with a geminate *lām* and no vowel on the *yā'*. The rest read it with a single *lām* without vowel and with *fathah* on the *yā'* (*wa-l-yasa'a*).^(P:104)

90: Ibn Dakwān reads *fa-bi-hadāhumu qtadihi* with *kasrah* on the *hā'* and *ṣilah* (i.e., a *yā'* after the *kasrah*). Hišām reads it with *kasrah* without *ṣilah* (i.e., *iqtadihi*). Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i remove the *hā'* in connected speech only (i.e., *iqtadi* but *iqtadih#*). The rest maintains the *hā'* with no vowel in connected speech and pause (i.e., *iqtadih(#)*).

91: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *yağ'alūnahū qarāṭisa yabdūnahā wa-yahfūna* with *yā'* in all three cases and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *tağ'alūnahū qarāṭisa tabdūnahā wa-tahfūna*).

92: 'Abū 'Amr reads *wa-li-yunḍira 'umma* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *wa-li-tunḍira*).

94: Nāfi', Ḥafṣ and al-Kisā'i read *la-qad taqatṭa'a baynakum* with *naṣb* of the *nūn* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *baynukum(ū)*).

95: *al-ḥayya min al-may(yi)ti* and *may(yi)ti min al-ḥayyi* has already been mentioned.⁶¹

96: The Kufans read *wa-ğa'ala* in the pattern *fa'ala* and *al-layla sakanan* with *naṣb* of the *lām*. The rest read *wa-ğā'ilu* in the pattern *fā'il* with *ğarr* of the *lām* of *al-layli*.

98: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *fa-mustaqirrun* with *kasrah* on the *qāf*, and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *fa-mustaqarrun*).

99: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'ilā tumurihi* in two places here (Q6:99 and Q6:141) and in Yā-Sīn (Q36:35) with two *ḍammahs* and the rest with two *fathahs* (i.e., *ṭamarihi*).

100: Nāfi' reads *ḥarraqū* with gemination of the *rā'* and the rest without gemination (i.e., *ḥaraqū*).

105: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *dārasta* with *'alif* and *fathah* on the *tā'*. Ibn 'Āmir reads it without *'alif*, with *fathah* on the *sīn* and no vowel on the *tā'* (i.e., *darasat*). The rest read it without *'alif*, with no vowel on the *sīn* and *fathah* on the *tā'* (i.e., *darasta*).^(P:105)

109: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and 'Abū Bakr—with disagreement in transmission from the last of the three—read *'innahā 'idā ḡā'at* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah*. The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *'annahā*).

Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah read *lā tu'minūna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yu'/ūminūna*).

⁶¹ See F.3:27.

111: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *kulla šay'in qibalan* with *kasrah* on the *qāf* and *fathah* on the *bā'*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on both (i.e., *qubulan*).

114: Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥafṣ read *'annahū munazzalun* with gemination and the rest without gemination (i.e., *munzalun*).

115: The Kufans read *kalimatu rabbika* in the singular and the rest in the plural (i.e., *kalimātu*).

119: The Kufans read *la-yuḍillūna* and in Yūnus (Q10:88) *li-yuḍillū* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* of both. The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *la-yaḍillūna*, *li-yaḍillū*).

The Kufans and Nāfi' read *wa-qad faṣṣala* with *fathah* on the *fā'* and *šād*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *fā'* and *kasrah* on the *šād* (i.e., *fuṣṣila*).

Nāfi' and Ḥafṣ read *mā ḥarrama* with *fathah* on the *ḥā'* and *rā'*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *ḥā'* and *kasrah* on the *rā'* (i.e., *ḥurrima*).

122: Nāfi' reads *'a-wa-man kāna mayyitan*, in Yā-Sīn *al-(?)arḍu l-mayyitatu* (Q36:33) and in al-Ḥuḡurāt *lahma 'aḥīhi mayyitan* (Q49:12), with gemination of the *yā'* in all three. The rest reads it with no vowel (i.e., *maytan*, *maytatu*, *maytan*).

124: Ibn Kaṭīr and Ḥafṣ read *yağ'alu risālatahū* in the singular with *naṣb* of the *tā'*. The rest read it in the plural with *kasrah* on the *tā'* (i.e., *risālātihi*).

125: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *ḍayqan* here and in al-Furqān (Q25:13) with no vowel on the *yā'* and the rest with gemination (of the *yā'*) (i.e., *ḍayyiqan*).

Nāfi' and 'Abū Bakr read *hariḡan* with *kasrah* on the *rā'* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *ḥaraḡan*).^(P:106)

Ibn Kaṭīr reads *ka'annamā yaş'adu* with no vowel on ungeminated *šād* and without 'alif. 'Abū Bakr reads *yaşşā'adu* with gemination of the *šād* and an 'alif after that. The rest read it with gemination of both the *šād* and the 'ayn without 'alif (i.e., *yaşşa'adu*).

128: Ḥafṣ reads *yawma yaḥşuruhum*, that is, the second attestation in this *sūrah*, the second in Yūnus (Q10:45) and in Saba' (Q34:40) *yawma yaḥşuruhum ... tumma yaqūlu* with *yā'* in all of these (cases of *yawma yaḥşuruhum*) and *tumma yaqūlu*. The rest read them with *nūn* (i.e., *yawma naḥşuruhum(ū)* and *tumma naqūlu*).

132: Ibn 'Āmir reads *'ammā ta'malūna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *ya'malūna*).

135: 'Abū Bakr reads *'alā makānātikum* and *makānātihi* whenever it occurs in the plural and the rest in the singular (i.e., *makānatikum(ū)*, *makānatihi(ū)*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *man yakūnu lahū* here and in al-Qaṣaṣ (Q28:37) with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *takūnu*).

136: Al-Kisā'i reads *bi-zu'mihim* in two cases (here and in Q6:138) with *ḍammah* of the *zāy* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *bi-za'mihim(ū)*).

137: Ibn 'Āmir reads *ka-ḍālika zuyyina* with *ḍammah* on the *zāy* and *kasrah* on the *yā'*, *qatlu* with *raf'* of the *lām*, *'awlādahum* with *naṣb* of the *dāl* and *ṣurakā'ihim* with *ḥafḍ* of the *hamzah*. The rest read them with *fathah* on the *zāy* and *yā'*,⁶² *naṣb* of the *lām*, *ḥafḍ* of the *dāl* and *raf'* of the *hamzah* (i.e., *wa-ka-ḍālika zayyana ... qatlu 'awlādihum ṣurakā'uhum(ū)*).⁶³

139: 'Abū Bakr and Ibn 'Āmir read *wa-'in takun* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yakun*).

Ibn Kaṭīr and Ibn 'Āmir read *maytatun* with *raf'* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *maytatan*).

140: *allaḍīna qat(t)alū* has already been mentioned.⁶⁴

141: Ibn 'Āmir, 'Āṣim and 'Abū 'Amr read *yawma ḥaṣādihi* with *fathah* on the *ḥā'* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *ḥiṣādihi*).^(P:107)

143: The Kufans and Nāfi' read *wa-min al-ma'zi* with no vowel on the *'ayn* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *al-ma'azi*).

145: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah read *'illā 'an takūna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yakūna*).

Ibn 'Āmir reads *maytatun* with *raf'* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *maytatan*).

152: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *taḍakkarūna* with *tā'* and without gemination on the *ḍāl* whenever it occurs. The rest read it with gemination (i.e., *taḍḍakkarūna*).

153: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-'inna hāḍā* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *wa-'anna hāḍā*). Ibn 'Āmir pronounces it without gemination of the *nūn* (i.e., *wa-'an hāḍā*) and the rest read it with gemination.

158: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'illā 'an ya'tiyahum* with *yā'* here and in al-Naḥl (Q16:33), and the rest read it with *tā'* (i.e., *ta'/ā'tiyahum(ū)*).

159: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *fāraqū* here and in al-Rūm (Q30:32) with *'alif* and without gemination. The rest read it without *'alif* and with gemination (i.e., *farraqū*).

⁶² Missing in Pretzl (al-Dānī 2008a, 283).

⁶³ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

⁶⁴ See F.3:195.

161: The Kufans and Ibn ‘Āmir read *dīnan qiyaman* with *kasrah* on the *qāf* and *fathah* on the *yā’* without gemination. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *qāf* and *kasrah* on a geminated *yā’* (i.e., *qayyiman*).

F.6.1. [Yā’s of Q6]

There are eight *yā’s*:

1. *’inniya ’aḥāfu* (Q6:15) and
2. *’inniya ’arā/ā/ēka* (Q6:74) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and ’Abū ‘Amr.
3. *’inniya ’umirtu* (Q6:14) and
4. *mamātiya li-llāhi* (Q6:162) with *fathah* by Nāfi‘.
5. *waḡhiya li-llaḍi* (Q6:79) with *fathah* by Nāfi‘, Ibn ‘Āmir and Ḥafṣ.
6. *ṣirātiya mustaqīman* (Q6:153) with *fathah* by Ibn ‘Āmir.
7. *rabbīya ’ilā ṣirāṭin* (Q6:161) with *fathah* by Nāfi‘ and ’Abū ‘Amr.
8. *maḥyāy* (Q6:162) with no vowel by Nāfi‘ with disagreement in transmission from Warš.

What I recited to [Ḥalaf b. ’Ibrāhīm] Ibn Ḥāqān, transmitting from his teachers from him [Warš], is without a vowel.^(p:108) I adopt it because ’Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad related to us, saying: ’Aḥmad b. ’Ibrāhīm related to us, saying: Bakr b. Sahl reported to us, saying: ’Abū al-’Azhar [‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān] reported to us from Warš from Nāfi‘: *wa-maḥyāy* without a vowel on the *yā’* (*wāqifatu l-yā’*).⁶⁵

’Abū al-’Azhar [‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān] said: ‘Uṭmān b. Sa’id [Warš] commanded me, “Place a *fathah* on it,” like *miṭwāya*. He claimed that it was more regular in terms of grammar.

⁶⁵ The unusual use of the term *wāqifah* for no vowel, where al-Dānī usually uses the term *’iskān*, suggests that he is citing an older source with different vocabulary here. Indeed, ’Abū al-’Azhar [‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān] wrote a book dedicated to the reading of Nāfi‘ as contrasted with that of Ḥamzah; these quotes probably come from this book (Hamdan 2018, 48, fn. 5). The *riwāyah* transmission of Warš in the *Taysir* in fact comes through this cited *’isnād*, and probably took the form of the transmission of this book. See U.4.1.2. and the discussion in Ḡāmi‘ *al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 1072).

Ḥalaf b. 'Ibrāhīm [Ibn Ḥāqān] the teacher related to me, saying: 'Aḥmad b. 'Usāmah related to me from his father from Yūnus from Warš from Nāfi' that it is *wa-maḥyāy* without a vowel on the *yā'* (*mawqūfatu l-yā'*), and *mamātiya* with *naṣb* of the *yā'*.⁶⁶

Yūnus said: 'Uṭmān [Warš] said to me: I prefer to apply *naṣb* to *maḥyāya* and apply no vowel to *mamātī*.

'Abū 'Amr [al-Dānī] said: So, this indicates, on the basis of the words of Warš, that he transmitted from Nāfi' with no vowel but that he himself preferred to pronounce it with *fathah*.

F.6.2. [Removed *yā'* of Q6]

There is a removed one: *wa-qad hadānī* (Q6:80) is maintained in connected speech by 'Abū 'Amr.

F.7. Sūrat al-'A'rāf

3: Ibn 'Āmir reads *qalīlan mā yataḍakkārūna* with the addition of *yā'* and the rest read it without *yā'* (i.e., *taḍ(d)akkārūna*).⁶⁷

25: Ḥamzah, al-Kisā'i and Ibn Ḍakwān read *wa-minhā taḥruḡūna*, and in al-Zuḥruf *wa-ka-ḍālīka taḥruḡūna* (Q43:11) with *fathah* on the *tā'* and *ḍammah* on the *rā'* for both. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and *fathah* on the *rā'* (i.e., *tuḥraḡūna*).

26: Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir and al-Kisā'i read *wa-libāsa t-taqwā/ā/ē* with *naṣb* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *wa-libāsu*).

32: Nāfi' reads *ḥālīṣatun* with *raf'* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *ḥālīṣatan*).^(P:109)

38: 'Abū Bakr reads *wa-lākin lā ya'lamūna* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *ta'lamūna*).

40: 'Abū 'Amr reads *lā tuftaḥu* with *tā'* and without gemination. Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read it with *yā'* and without gemination (i.e., *lā yuftaḥu*). The rest read it with *tā'* and gemination (i.e., *lā tufattaḥu*).

43: Ibn 'Āmir reads *mā kunnā li-nahtadiya* without *wāw* and the rest read *wa-mā* with *wāw*.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ This *'isnād* is not in the *Taysir* but it is mentioned in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 299).

⁶⁷ See F.6:152. This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

⁶⁸ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

44: Al-Kisā'i reads *qālū na'im* whenever it occurs with *kasrah* on the 'ayn and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *na'am*).

Al-Bazzī, Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'anna la'nata llāhi* with gemination of the *nūn* and *naṣb* of the *tā'*. The rest read it without gemination and *raf'* of the *tā'* (i.e., *'an la'natu llāhi*).

54: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *yugāššī l-layla* with gemination, and likewise in al-Ra'd (Q13:3). The rest read it without gemination (i.e., *yugšī*).

Ibn 'Āmir reads *aš-šamsu wa-l-qamaru wa-n-nuḡūmu musaḥḥarātun* with *raf'* of all four. The rest applies the *naṣb* to them, except to the *tā'*. That one carries *kasrah* in *musaḥḥarātun* (i.e., *aš-šamsa, wa-l-qamara wa-n-nuḡūma musaḥḥarātun*).

55: *wa-ḥi/ufyah* has already been mentioned.⁶⁹

57: *ar-riḥ/ar-riyāḥ* has already been mentioned.⁷⁰

'Āṣim reads *bušran* with a *bā'* that carries a *ḍammah* and with no vowel on the *šin* whenever it occurs. Ibn 'Āmir reads it with a *nūn* that carries a *ḍammah* and with no vowel on the *šin* (i.e., *nušran*). Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read it with a *nūn* that carries a *fathah* and with no vowel on the *šin* (i.e., *našran*). The rest read it with a *nūn* that carries a *ḍammah* and with *ḍammah* on the *šin* (i.e., *nušuran*).

59: Al-Kisā'i reads *min 'ilāhin ḡayriḥi* with *ḥafḍ* of the *rā'* whenever *min* occurs before *'ilāhin* which triggers the *ḥafḍ* (Q6:65, 73, 85; Q11:50, etc.). The rest read it with *raf'* (i.e., *ḡayruhū*).^(P:110)

62: 'Abū 'Amr reads *'ubliḡukum* in two places in this *sūrah* (here and Q7:68) and in al-'Aḥqāf (Q46:23) without gemination. The rest read it with gemination (i.e., *'uballiḡukum(ū)*).

69: *bas/ṣṭah* has already been mentioned.⁷¹

75: Ibn 'Āmir reads *wa-qāla l-mala'u llaḏina stakbarū* in the story of Ṣāliḥ⁷² with the addition of the *wāw*. The rest read it without the *wāw* (i.e., *qāla*).⁷³

⁶⁹ See F.6:63.

⁷⁰ See F.2:163.

⁷¹ See F.2:245.

⁷² As opposed to the same phrase in Q7:88 in the story of Šu'ayb.

⁷³ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

81: Nāfi' and Ḥaḥṣ read 'innakum la-ta'/ātūna with a *hamzah* that carries a *kasrah* as a declarative sentence and the rest read it as an interrogative sentence (i.e., 'a'innakum, 'a.in-nakumū, 'ā.innakum). Their manner (of treating two *hamzahs* in a row) has already preceded in the chapter on two *hamzahs*.⁷⁴

96: la-fat(t)aḥnā 'alayhi/um has already been mentioned.⁷⁵

98: The two of the holy cities and Ibn 'Āmir read 'aw 'amina with no vowel on the wāw. Warš, in accordance with his general principle, places the vowel of the *hamzah* on the wāw (i.e., 'aw_amina).⁷⁶ The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., 'a-wa-'amina).

Nāfi' reads 'alayya 'an lā with *fathah* on a geminate yā'. The rest read it with no vowel on the yā' and turn it into 'alif in the pronunciation (i.e., 'alā).

111: Ibn Kaṭīr and Hišām read 'arġi'ḥū here and in al-Šu'arā' (Q26:36) with *hamzah* and *ḍammah* on the hā', with *ṣilah* of wāw. 'Abū 'Amr reads it with *hamzah* and *ḍammah*, but without the *ṣilah* (of wāw) ('arġi'ḥu). Ibn Ḍakwān reads it with *hamzah* and *kasrah* of the hā', without the *ṣilah* of yā' (i.e., 'arġi'ḥi). Qālūn reads it without *hamzah* and with shortened pronunciation of the *kasrah* (i.e., 'arġiḥi). Warš and al-Kisā'i read (it) without *hamzah* and with the *ṣilah* of yā' to the hā' (i.e., 'arġiḥi). 'Āṣim and Ḥamzah read (it) without *hamzah* and with no vowel on the hā' (i.e., 'arġiḥ).

In pause, it carries no vowel without any disagreement, except in the manner of those who apply the *ḍammah* regardless of whether there is a *ṣilah* of wāw or not; in those cases *rawm* (i.e., 'arġi'h^u#) or 'iṣmām (i.e., 'arġi'h^w#) are allowed.^(P:111)

112: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read bi-kulli saḥḥārin here and in Yūnus (Q10:79) with an 'alif after the hā'. The rest read it with 'alif after the sīn (i.e., sāḥirin).

113: The two of the holy cities and Ḥaḥṣ read 'inna lanā la-'aġran with a *hamzah* carrying *kasrah* as a declarative sentence. The rest read it as an interrogative sentence (i.e., 'a'inna, 'a.inna, 'ā.inna), and they do so according to the manners that have been mentioned in the chapter of two *hamzahs* within a word.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ See U.11.1.

⁷⁵ See F.6:44.

⁷⁶ See U.11.4.

⁷⁷ See U.11.1.

117: Ḥafṣ reads *talqafu mā* here, in Ṭāhā (Q20:69) and al-Šu‘arā’ (Q26:45) without a vowel on the *lām* and without gemination. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *lām* and gemination (i.e., *talaqqafu*).

123: Qunbul reads *qāla fir‘awnu wa-.āmantumū bihi*,⁷⁸ replacing in connected speech the *hamzah* of the interrogative with a *wāw* that carries a *fathah* and length after it as the equivalent of two ‘*alifs* (i.e., |’aAaAmantumuw|). In Ṭāhā (20:71) he reads it as a declarative sentence with *hamzah* and ‘*alif* (i.e., ‘*āmantumū*). In al-Šu‘arā’ (Q26:49) he reads it as an interrogative sentence with *hamzah* and with stretched length with the equivalent of two ‘*alifs* (i.e., ‘*a-.āmantumū*). Ḥafṣ reads these three with *hamzah* and ‘*alif* as a declarative sentence (i.e., ‘*āmantum*). ‘Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī read them as interrogatives with two *hamzahs* pronounced fully⁷⁹ and an ‘*alif* behind them (i.e., ‘*a-’āmantum*). The rest read it as an interrogative, with a *hamzah* and length stretched as the equivalent of two ‘*alifs* (i.e., ‘*a-.āmantum* |’aAaAmantum|).

There is not a single one of them who inserts an ‘*alif* between the fully pronounced *hamzah* and the softly pronounced *hamzah* in these places like they introduce it in ‘*ā-.anḍart-ahum* (i.e., no one reads **’*ā.āmantum*) and its class⁸⁰ due to the dislike of the meeting of three ‘*alifs* after the *hamzah* (the underlying form would be |’aAAaAmantum|).

127: The two of the holy cities read *sa-naqtulu* with *fathah* on the *nūn* and *ḍammah* on an ungeminated *tā’*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *nūn* and *kasrah* on the geminate *tā’* (i.e., *sa-nuqattilu*).^(P:112)

137: ‘Abū Bakr and Ibn ‘Āmir read *ya’rušūna* here and in al-Naḥl (Q16:68) with *ḍammah* on the *rā’* and the rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *ya’rišūna*).

138: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī read *ya’kifūna* with *kasrah* on the *kāf*, and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *ya’kufūna*).

⁷⁸ This is according to the general principle of Ibn Kaṭīr that ‘*a-’ā* is pronounced with the softening of the second *hamzah* (see section U.11.1.).

⁷⁹ The Pretzl edition has مخففتين ‘two softened hamzahs’, but this is certainly a mistake. It should read مخففتين instead, correct in the al-Ḍāmin edition (al-Ḍānī 2008a, 292).

⁸⁰ The class being words with two *hamzahs* in a row; see section U.11.1.

141: Ibn 'Āmir reads *wa-ʾid ʾanğākum* with *ʾalif* after the *ğim* and without *yāʾ* and *nūn*. The rest read it with *yāʾ* and *nūn* and an *ʾalif* after it (i.e., *ʾanğaynākum(ū)*).⁸¹

Nāfiʿ reads *yaqtulūna ʾabnāʾakum* with *fathah* on the *yāʾ* and *ḍammah* on an ungeminated *tāʾ*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *yāʾ*, *fathah* on the *qāf* and *kasrah* on a geminate *tāʾ* (i.e., *yuqattilūna*).

143: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *ğaʿalahū dakkāʾa* here with length and a *hamzah* without *tanwīn*. The rest read it with *tanwīn* and without *hamzah* (i.e., *dakkan*).

144: The two of the holy cities read *bi-risālātī* in the singular and the rest in the plural (i.e., *bi-risālātī*).

146: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *sabīla r-rašadi* with two *fathahs* and the rest with *ḍammah* on the *rāʾ* and no vowel on the *šin* (i.e., *ar-rušdī*).

148: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *min ḥiliyyihim* with *kasrah* on the *hāʾ* and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *ḥuliyyihim(ū)*).

149: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *tarḥamnā rabbanā wa-tağfir lanā* with *tāʾ* on both and *naṣb* of the *bāʾ* of *rabbanā*. The rest read it with *yāʾ* and *rafʿ* of the *bāʾ* (i.e., *yarḥamnā rabbunā wa-yağfir lanā*).

150: Ibn 'Āmir, 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *qāla bna ʾummi* here and in Ṭāhā (Q20:94) with *kasrah* on the *mīm* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *ibna ʾumma*).

157: Ibn 'Āmir reads *ʾanhum ʾašārahum*⁸² with *fathah* on the *hamzah* with *ʾalif* as a plural, and the rest read it with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* without *ʾalif* as a singular (i.e., *ʾisrahum(ū)*).^(P:113)

161: Nāfiʿ and Ibn 'Āmir read *tuğfar lakum* with *tāʾ* that carries a *ḍammah* and with *fathah* on the *fāʾ*. The rest read it with *nūn* that carries a *fathah* and with *kasrah* on the *fāʾ* (i.e., *nağfir*).

'Abū 'Amr reads *ḥaṭāyākum* like the word *qaḍāyākum* without *hamzah*. Ibn 'Āmir reads *ḥaṭīʾatukum* with *hamzah* and *rafʿ* of the *tāʾ* without *ʾalif* as a singular. Nāfiʿ reads it like that except he reads it as a plural (i.e., *ḥaṭīʾātukum*), and the rest like that except they place *kasrah* on the *tāʾ* (i.e., *ḥaṭīʾātikum(ū)*).

164: Ḥaṣṣ reads *qālū maʿḍiratan* with *naṣb* and the rest with *rafʿ* (i.e., *maʿḍiratun*).

⁸¹ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 140).

⁸² Pretzl renders this word as *اصرهم* which is wrong. It should be *ءاصرهم*.

165: Nāfi' reads *bi-ʿaḏābin bisin* with *kasrah* on the *bā'* and without *hamzah* just like ʿ*isin*.⁸³ Ibn ʿĀmir reads it with *kasrah* on the *bā'* and with *hamzah* without vowel after it (i.e., *biʿsin*). ʾAbū Bakr reads, with disagreement in transmission from him, *bayʿasin* with *fathah* on the *bā'* and with *hamzah* that carries a *fathah* after the *yā'*, like *qayqab*. The rest read *baʿisin* with *fathah* on the *bā'* and with *hamzah* that carries a *kasrah* and after it a *yā'*, like *raʿis*. This option has (also) been transmitted from ʾAbū Bakr.

169: ʾa-fa-lā y/taʿqilūna has already been mentioned.⁸⁴

170: ʾAbū Bakr reads *wa-llaḏīna yumsikūna* without gemination and the rest with gemination (i.e., *yumassikūna*).

172: Nāfi', ʾAbū ʿAmr and Ibn ʿĀmir read *ḏuriyyātihim* in the plural with *kasrah* on the *tā'*. The rest read it in the singular with *naṣb* of the *tā'* (i.e., *ḏuriyyatahum(ū)*).

ʾAbū ʿAmr reads *ʾan yaqūlū* with *yā'* on both (here and in Q7:173) and the rest read it with *tā'* (i.e., *taqūlū*).

180: Ḥamzah reads *yalḥadūna* here and in Fuṣṣilat (Q41:40) with *fathah* on the *yā'* and *ḥā'*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* (i.e., *yulḥidūna*).^(P:114)

186: ʿĀṣim and ʾAbū ʿAmr read *wa-yaḍaruhum* with *yā'* and *rafʿ* of the *rā'*. Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read it with *yā'* and with *ḡazm* of the *rā'* (i.e., *wa-yaḍarhum*). The rest read it with *nūn* and *rafʿ* of the *rā'* (i.e., *wa-naḍaruhum(ū)*).

190: Nāfi' and ʾAbū Bakr read *lahū širkan* with *kasrah* on the *šin* and no vowel on the *rā'* with *tanwīn*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *šin*, with *fathah* on the *rā'*, length and *hamzah* without *tanwīn* (i.e., *šurakāʾa*).

193: Nāfi' reads *lā yatbaʿūhum* here and in al-Šuʿarāʾ *yatbaʿuhumu l-ḡāwūna* (Q26:224) with *fathah* on an ungeminated *tā'*.⁸⁵ The rest read it with *fathah* on a geminated *tā'* (i.e., *lā yattabiʿūhum(ū)*, *yattabiʿuhum(ū)*).

201: Ibn Kaṭīr, ʾAbū ʿAmr and al-Kisāʾī read *ṭayfun* without *hamzah* or ʾalif. The rest read it with ʾalif and *hamzah* (i.e., *ṭāʾifun*).

⁸³ Pretzl renders this word عيسى, which is certainly a mistake. It should read عيس 'camels of good stock', which is found in the manuscript that I have consulted and the al-Dāmin edition (al-Dānī 2008a, 295).

⁸⁴ See F.6:32.

⁸⁵ Pretzl has *bā'* here. This is a mistake.

202: Nāfi' reads *yumiddūnahum* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and *kasrah* on the *mīm*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *yā'* and *ḍammah* on the *mīm* (i.e., *yamuddūnahum(ū)*).

F.7.1. [Yā's of Q7]

There are seven *yā'*s:

1. *rabbī l-fawāḥiṣa* (Q7:33) without vowel by Ḥamzah.
2. *'inniya 'aḥāfu* (Q7:59) and
3. *min ba'diya 'a-'aḡiltum(ū)* (Q7:150) with *fathah* on both by the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr.
4. *ma'īya banī 'isrā'īl* (Q7:105) with *fathah* by Ḥafṣ.
5. *'inniya ṣṭafaytuka* (Q7:144) with *fathah* by Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr.
6. *'an 'āyāti llaḏīna* (Q7:146) without vowel by Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah.
7. *'aḏābiya 'uṣību* (Q7:156) with *fathah* by Nāfi'.

F.7.2. [Removed *yā'* of Q7]

There is a removed one: *ṭumma kaydūnī falā* (Q7:195) with retention in connected speech and pause by Hišām, with disagreement in transmission from him. It is read with retention in connected speech only by 'Abū 'Amr. Success comes from God.^(P:115)

F.8. Sūrat al-'Anfāl

9: Nāfi' reads *murdaḏfīna* with *fathah* on the *dāl*. Likewise, I was told by Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad, transmitting from Ibn Muḡāhid, that he recited it so to Qunbul and he said that it is wrong.⁸⁶ The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *murdiḏfīna*).

11: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *'iḏ yaḡṣākum(ū)* with *fathah* on the *yā'* and *šin*, with *'alif* after it, and *an-nu'āsu* with [*raf*^c of the *sīn*. Nāfi' reads *yugṣīkum* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'*

⁸⁶ This has not come down in the recension of Ibn Muḡāhid's work available to us. He does mention this variant transmitted from Ibn Kaṭīr, but not through Qunbul, but rather through al-Ḥulwānī, and he does not say that it is mistaken (Ibn Muḡāhid 1972, 304).

and *kasrah* on an ungeminated *šin* and *al-nu‘āsa*]⁸⁷ with *naṣb*. The rest read it like that, except that they apply *fathah* to *ğayn* and geminate the *šin* (i.e., *yūḡaššikum*).

12: *ar-ru‘(u)b*⁸⁸ and *wa-lākin illāhu* (Q8:17)⁸⁹ in both cases (in that verse) have been mentioned already.

18: The two of the holy cities and ‘Abū ‘Amr read *muwahhinun kayda* with *fathah* on the *wāw* and with a geminate *hā’*. The rest read it without a vowel on the *wāw* and without gemination⁹⁰ of the *hā’* (i.e., *mūhinun*).

Ḥafṣ removes the *tanwīn* and applies *ḥafḍ*⁹¹ to the *dāl* of *kaydi* as a construct phrase (i.e., *muwahhinu kaydi*). The rest applies *tanwīn* and *naṣb* to the *dāl* (i.e., *muwahhinun/mūhinun kayda*).

19: Nāfi‘, Ibn ‘Āmir and Ḥafṣ read *wa-‘anna llāha ma‘a* with *fathah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., ‘inna).

37: *li-yamīza/yumayyiza llāhu* has already been mentioned.⁹²

42: Ibn Kaṭīr and ‘Abū ‘Amr read *bi-l-‘idwati* in both cases (in this verse) with *kasrah* on the ‘ayn. The rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *bi-l-‘udwati*).

Nāfi‘, al-Bazzī and ‘Abū Bakr read *man ḥayīya ‘an* with two *yā’s*, with the first carrying a *kasrah*. The rest read it with one geminate (*yā’*) carrying a *fathah* (i.e., *ḥayya*).

50: Ibn ‘Āmir reads ‘iḍ tatawaffà llaḍīna with two *tā’s* and the rest read it with *yā’* and *tā’* (i.e., *yatawaffà llaḍīna*).^(P:116)

59: Ḥafṣ, Ibn ‘Āmir and Ḥamzah read *wa-lā yaḥsabanna llaḍīna* with *yā’* and the rest with *tā’* (i.e., *taḥsa/ibanna*).

⁸⁷ Due to eye-skip, Pretzl missed this section of the text. It is fixed based on the al-Ḍāmin edition (al-Dānī 2008a, 42).

⁸⁸ See F.3:151.

⁸⁹ See F.2:102.

⁹⁰ In the Pretzl edition this reads يَخْفِضُ, clearly mixed up with the next variant discussed. It should read تَخْفِيفُ (al-Dānī 2008a, 299).

⁹¹ In the Pretzl edition this reads تَخْفِيفُ, clearly mixed up with the previous variant discussed. It should read يَخْفِضُ (al-Dānī 2008a, 299).

⁹² See F.3:179.

Ibn 'Āmir reads *'annahum lā yu'ğizūna* with *fathāh* on the *hamzah* and the rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *'innahum(ū)*).

61: 'Abū Bakr reads *li-s-silmi* with *kasrah* on the *sīn* and the rest read it with *fathāh* (i.e., *li-s-salmi*).

65: The Kufans read *'in yakun minkum mi'atun yağlibū* and *fa-'in yakun minkum mi'atun šābiratun* (Q8:66) with *yā'* on both. 'Abū 'Amr reads it with *yā'* on the first only (i.e., *'in yakun minkum mi'atun yağlibū*, *'in takun minkum mi'atun šābiratun*). The rest read it with *tā'* on both (i.e., *'in takun minkum mi'atun yağlibū*, *'in takun minkum mi'atun šābiratun*).

66: Ḥamzah and 'Āṣim read *fikum ḍa'fan* with *fathāh* on the *ḍād*, and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *ḍu'fan*).

67: 'Abū 'Amr reads *'an takūna lahū* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yakūna*).

'Abū 'Amr reads *min al-'usārē* in the pattern *fu'alā* and the rest in the pattern *fa'lā* (i.e., *al-(')asrā/ā/ē*).

72: Ḥamzah reads *min wilāyatihim* with *kasrah* on the *wāw* and the rest with *fathāh* (i.e., *walāyatihim(ū)*).

F.8.1. [Yā's of Q8]

There are two *yā's*:

1. *'inniya 'arā/ē* (Q8:48) and
2. *'inniya 'ahāfu* (Q8:48) with *fathāh* on both by the two of the holy cities and 'Abū Amr.

F.9. Sūrat al-Tawbah

12: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *'a'immah* with two *hamzahs* whenever it occurs. Hišām, according to my recitation to 'Abū al-Faḥ, inserts an *'alif* (i.e., *'ā'immah*). The rest read with *hamzah* and *yā'* as an ultrashort *kasrah*, without length (i.e., *'a.immah*).⁹³

Ibn 'Āmir reads *lā 'imāna lahū* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and the rest on the *fathāh* (i.e., *'aymāna*).^(P:117)

⁹³ The literal reading of this description points to *'ay'immah*. In modern recitation this is understood to be *'a.immah*, and described as such by Ibn al-Ğazarī (2018, §1430–31). But Ibn al-Ğazarī also mentions the option with *yā'*, so it may be possible that *'ay'immah* is in fact the intended reading here.

17: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read the first *'an ya'murū masğida lāhi* in the singular, the rest in the plural (i.e., *masāğida*). There is no disagreement on the second (always in the plural).

21: *yabšuruhum/yubašširuhum(ū)* has already been mentioned.⁹⁴

24: 'Abū Bakr reads *wa-'ašīrātukum* in the plural, and the rest in the singular (i.e., *wa-'ašīratukum(ū)*).

30: 'Āṣim and al-Kisā'i read *'uzayrun ibnu lāhi* with *tanwīn* and *kasrah*. It is not allowed to apply the *ḍammah* in the manner of al-Kisā'i⁹⁵ because the *ḍammah* of the *nūn* is functioning as a case vowel and it is not part of the word formation (which would make it possible) to transfer it (i.e., not *'azizun ubnu* because the *u* of *ibnu* is not part of the stem, but *'i'rāb*). The rest read without *tanwīn* (i.e., *'uzayru bnu lāhi*).

'Āṣim reads *yuḍāhi'ūna* with *hamzah* and *kasrah* on the *hā'*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *hā'* without *hamzah* (*yuḍāhūna*).

37: Warš reads *'innamā n-nasiyyu* with gemination of the *yā'* without *hamzah*. The rest read it with *hamzah* and length and no vowel on the *yā'* (i.e., *an-nasī'u*). When Ḥamzah or Hišām pause, they follow Warš (i.e., *an-nasiyy#*).

Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *yuḍallu bihi* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and *fathah* on the *dād*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *yā'* and *kasrah* on the *dād* (i.e., *yaḍillu*).

53: *'aw ka/urhan* has already been mentioned.⁹⁶

61: *'uḍ(u)nun qul 'uḍ(u)nu ḥayrin lakum* has already been mentioned.⁹⁷

66: 'Āṣim reads *'in na'fu 'an ṭā'ifatin* with a *nūn* that carries a *fathah* and with *raf'* of the *fā'*, *nu'aḍḍib* with *nūn* and *kasrah* on the *dāl*, and *ṭā'ifatan* with *naṣb*. The rest read it with a *yā'* that carries a *ḍammah* and with *fathah* on the *fā'* on the first word, and the second one with *tā'*, *fathah* on the *dāl* and *raf'* of *ṭā'ifatun* (i.e., *'in yu'fa 'an ṭā'ifatin, tu'aḍḍab ṭā'ifatun*).^(P:118)

98: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *dā'iratu s-sū'i* here and in al-Faṭḥ (Q48:6) with *ḍammah* on the *sīn* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *as-saw'i*).

⁹⁴ See F.3:39.

⁹⁵ See F.2:173.

⁹⁶ See F.4:19.

⁹⁷ See F.5:45.

99: Warš reads *qurubatun lahum* with *ḍammah* of the *rā'* and the rest without a vowel (i.e., *qurubatun lahum(ū)*).

100: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *min taḥtiḥā* after the (verse) 100,⁹⁸ with the addition of *min* and *ḥafḍ* of the *tā'*. The rest read it without *min* and with *fathah* on the *tā'* (i.e., *taḥtahā*).⁹⁹

103: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'inna ṣalātaka* and in Hūd *'a-ṣalātuka ta'muruka* (Q11:89) in the singular and *naṣb* of the *tā'* here. The rest read both in the plural with *kasrah* on the *tā'* here and no disagreement on the *raf'* of the *tā'* in Hūd (i.e., *'inna ṣalawātika, 'a-ṣalawātuka ta'/āmuruka*).

106: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū Bakr, 'Abū 'Amr and Ibn 'Āmir read *murğā'ūna* here and in al-'Aḥzāb *turğī'u* (Q33:51) with *hamzah* for both. The rest read it without *hamzah* (i.e., *murğawna, turğī*).

107: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *allaḍīna ttaḥaḍū* without *wāw* before the *allaḍīna*. The rest read with *wāw* (i.e., *wa-llaḍīna ttaḥaḍū*).¹⁰⁰

109: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *'a-fa-man 'ussisa bunyānuhū* and *ḥayrun 'am man 'ussisa banyānuhū* with *ḍammah* on the *hamzah*, *kasrah* on the *sīn* and *raf'* of the *nūn* in both. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *hamzah* and *sīn*, and *naṣb* of the *nūn* of *bunyānahū* (i.e., *'assasa banyānahū*).

Ibn 'Āmir, 'Abū Bakr and Ḥamzah read *ğurfīn* without a vowel on the *rā'*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *ğurufīn*).

Ibn Kaṭīr, Ḥamzah, Ḥafṣ, Hišām and al-Naqqāš, transmitting from al-'Aḥfaš [from Ibn Ḍakwān],¹⁰¹ read *hārīn* with *fathah* and Warš reads it in between the two sounds (i.e., *hārīn*). The rest read it with *'imālah* (i.e., *hērīn*). The *rā'* is the third root letter of the stem, so it has

⁹⁸ In the Kufan verse count of the ubiquitous Ḥafṣ reading, this word occurs not after 100, but in verse 100. In the Medinan verse count that was native to al-Dānī as well as the Meccan verse count, however, this is verse 101 (Spitaler 1935, 38).

⁹⁹ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 141).

¹⁰⁰ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 141).

¹⁰¹ This is the only *tilawah 'isnād* for Ibn Ḍakwān in the *Taysīr*. Other transmissions from Ibn Ḍakwān are mentioned in *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 1160) and they do not all transmit this reading for him.

been made into the second root letter by metathesis (*hērin* is analysed as |haAriy-n|, which is considered a metathesis of *hā'irun* |haAyiru-n|).¹⁰² (P:119)

110: Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥafṣ and Ḥamzah read 'illā 'an *taqaṭṭa'a* with *fathah* on the *tā'* and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *tuqaṭṭa'a*).

111: *fa-yaqtulūna wa-yuqṭalūna* has already been mentioned.¹⁰³

117: Ḥafṣ and Ḥamzah read *yazīgu qulūbu* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *tazīgu qulūbu*).

126: Ḥamzah reads 'a-wa-lā *tarawna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yarawna*).

F.9.1. [Yā's of Q9]

There are two *yā'*s:

1. *ma'ī 'abadan* (Q9:83) with no vowel by 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i.
2. *ma'īya 'aduwwan* (Q9:84) with *fathah* by Ḥafṣ.

F.10. Sūrat Yūnus (s)

1: Ibn Kaṭīr, Qālūn and Ḥafṣ read 'alif-lām-rā (in the beginning of Q10, Q11, Q12, Q14, Q15) and 'alif-lām-mīm-rā (in the beginning of Q13) with *fathah* and Warš in between the two sounds (i.e., 'alif-lām-rā, 'alif-lām-mīm-rā). The rest read it with 'imālah ('alif-lām-rē, 'alif-lām-mīm-rē).

2: The Kufans and Ibn Kaṭīr read *la-sāḥirun mubīnun* with 'alif and the rest read *la-siḥrun* without 'alif.

5: Qunbul reads *ḍi'ā'an* and *bi-ḍi'ā'in* here, in al-'Anbi'ā' (Q21:48) and al-Qaṣaṣ (Q28:71) with *hamzah* after the *ḍād*. The rest read it with a *yā'* that carries a *fathah* after (the *ḍād*) (i.e., *ḍiyā'an*, *bi-ḍiyā'in*).^(P:120)

¹⁰² The reason why this form is analysed as such, and not as |hawirin~haArin|—which would be eligible for 'imālah because of *ār* + *ḡarr*—is a bit convoluted. But lexicographical works point out that even in the nominative the phrase is *ḡur(u)fun hārin*, thus the adjective must be analysed as |haAriy-un| (Lane 1863, 2968a; Ibn Manẓūr n.d., 4719c). This analysis is irrelevant for the use in the Qur'ān, however.

¹⁰³ See F.3:195.

Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥaḥṣ read *yufaṣṣilu l-'āyāti* with *yā'* and the rest with *nūn* (i.e., *nufaṣṣilu*).

11: Ibn 'Āmir reads *la-qaḍā 'ilayhim* with *fathah* on the *qāf* and *ḍād*, and *'aḡalahum* with *naṣb* of the *lām*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *qāf*, *kasrah* on the *ḍād*, *fathah* on the *yā'* and *raf'* of the *lām* (i.e., *la-quḍiya 'ilayhi/um(ū) 'aḡaluhum(ū)*).

16: Qunbul reads *wa-la-'adrākumū bihi* without the *'alif* after the *lām*. Al-Naqqāš transmitted it like that from 'Abū Rabī'ah from al-Bazzī, and 'Abū al-Qāsim ['Abd al-'Azīz al-Fārisī] taught me to recite it like that, transmitting from him (al-Naqqāš ← 'Abū Rabī'ah ← al-Bazzī). The rest read it with *'alif* (i.e., *wa-lā 'adrākum*).¹⁰⁴

Ibn Kaṭīr, Qālūn, Ḥaḥṣ, Hišām and al-Naqqāš from al-'Aḥḥaṣ (from Ibn Ḍakwān)¹⁰⁵ read *'adrāka* and *'adrākum(ū)* whenever it occurs with *fathah*, Warš in between the two sounds (i.e., *'adrāka*, *'adrākum*) and the rest with *'imālah* (i.e., *'adrēka*, *'adrēkum*).

18: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'ammā tušrikūna* here, in two places in al-Naḥl (Q16:1, 3) and in al-Rūm (Q30:33) with *tā'* in all four places. The rest read it with *yā'* (i.e., *yušrikūna*).

22: Ibn 'Āmir reads *yanšurukum fī l-barri wa-l-baḥri* with *nūn* and *šin* of (the verb) *al-našr* and the rest with *sīn* and *yā'* of (the verb) *al-tasyīr*, i.e., *yusayyirukum(ū)*.¹⁰⁶

23: Ḥaḥṣ reads *matā'a l-ḥayāti d-dunyā* with *naṣb* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *matā'u*).

27: Ibn Kaṭīr and al-Kisā'i read *qaṭ'an min al-layli* with no vowel on the *tā'* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *qaṭa'an*).

30: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *hunālika tatlū* with *tā'* and the rest with *bā'* (i.e., *tablū*).^(P:121)

¹⁰⁴ The wording here suggests that this reading for al-Bazzī has reached al-Dānī through two modes of transmission (*riwāyah* and *tilāwah*). The *'isnād* al-Naqqāš ← 'Abū Rabī'ah ← al-Bazzī is only reported as a *tilāwah 'isnād*, however. This is the *tilāwah 'isnād* in the *Taysīr*, and it is also reported as a *tilāwah 'isnād* in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 306).

¹⁰⁵ This is the path from Ibn Ḍakwān present in the *Taysīr*, but the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* reports that 'Abū al-Faḥ Fāris b. 'Aḥmad ← 'Abd al-Bāqī ← his teachers ← al-'Aḥḥaṣ ← Ibn Ḍakwān transmit this with *'imālah* (al-Dānī 2007, 1172).

¹⁰⁶ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 141).

33: Nāfi^c and Ibn ʿĀmir read *kalimātu rabbika* here, at the end of the *sūrah* (Q10:96), and in al-Ġāfir (Q40:6), in these three places, in the plural and the rest in the singular (i.e., *kalimatu*).

35: Ibn Kaṭīr, Warš and Ibn ʿĀmir read *ʾamman lā yahaddī* with *fathah* on the *yāʾ* and *hāʾ*, and gemination of the *dāl*. Qālūn and ʾAbū ʿAmr read it like that, except that they apply *ʾihfāʾ*¹⁰⁷ to the vowel of the *hāʾ* (i.e., *lā yahāddī*), and the texts from Qālūn say it is without vowel (i.e., *lā yahddī*). Al-Yazīdī, transmitting from ʾAbū ʿAmr, said that he used to give the *hāʾ* a little bit of *ʾiṣmām* of the *fathah* (i.e., *lā yahāddī*). ʾAbū Bakr reads it with *kasrah* of the *yāʾ* and *hāʾ* (i.e., *yihiddī*), and Ḥaḥṣ with *fathah* on the *yāʾ* and *kasrah* on the *hāʾ* (i.e., *yahiddī*). Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read it with *fathah* on the *yāʾ*, no vowel on the *hāʾ* and no gemination on the *dāl* (i.e., *yahdī*).

44: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *wa-lākin in-nāsu* with *kasrah* on an ungeminated *nūn* and *rafʿ* of the *sīn*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the geminated *nūn* and *naṣb* of the *sīn* (i.e., *wa-lākinna n-nāsa*).

45: *yawma y/taḥṣuruhum kaʾan lam* has already been mentioned.¹⁰⁸

51: Nāfi^c reads *bihi ʾā-lāna* and *ʾā-lāna wa qad ʾaṣayta* (Q10:91) with *fathah* on the *lām* without *hamzah*. The rest read it with no vowel on the *lām* and *hamzah* after it. Everyone softens the *hamzat al-waṣl* that comes after the *hamzah* of interrogation in this and what is like it, such as His speech *ʾāḍ-ḍakarayni* (Q6:143, 144), *qul ʾaḷḷāhu ʾaḍina lakum(ū)* (Q10:59) and *ʾaḷḷāhu ḥayrun* (Q27:59), and none of them pronounces it fully (so never *ʾa-ʾaḷḷāhu*, etc.), nor does anyone place anything (i.e., an *ʾalif*) between it and the word that comes after the *ʾalif* because of its weakness (so never *ʾā-.aḷḷāhu*, etc.). Because the replacement (of the *bayna bayn* realisation of *hamzah* with an *ʾalif*, so that you get *ʾaḷḷāhu* etc.) is the opinion of most of the reciters and grammarians, (*badal*) is required for these (cases).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ This is an imprecise term for what is properly called *ihṭilās*. Such a use is not uncommon in al-Dānī's wording.

¹⁰⁸ See F.6:128.

¹⁰⁹ While al-Dānī's prescription suggests *ʾaḷḷāhu*, etc. is preferred, the wording clearly indicates that some also read *ʾa-.aḷḷāhu*, etc., pronounced *bayna bayn*. This is spelled out more explicitly in the *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 524).

58: Ibn 'Āmir reads *ḥayrun mim mā tağma'ūna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yağma'ūna*).

61: Al-Kisā'i reads *wa-mā ya'zibu 'an rabbika* here and in Saba' (Q34:3) with *kasrah* on the *zāy*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *ya'zubu*).^(P:122)

Ḥamzah reads *wa-lā 'aṣḡaru min ḍālika wa-lā 'akbaru* with *raf'* of both and the rest with *fathah*.

79: *bi-kulli sāḥirin/saḥḥārin* has already been mentioned.¹¹⁰

81: 'Abū 'Amr reads *bihi 'ā-s-siḥru* with length as an interrogative and the rest read it without length as a declarative (i.e., *bihi s-siḥru*).

87: 'Ubayd Aḷlāh b. 'Abī Muslim transmitted from his father ['Abū Muslim 'Abd al-Raḥmān] and Hubayrah, [both] from Ḥafṣ, that he paused on His words *'an tatabawwa'ā* as *tabawwayā#* with *yā'* replacing the *hamzah*.¹¹¹

Ibn Ḥuwāstī [al-Fārisī] told us, transmitting from 'Abū Ṭāhir from al-'Ušnānī [from 'Ubayd from Ḥafṣ], that he paused with a *hamzah* (i.e., *tatabawwa'ā#*) and that is what I recited and adopted.

88: *li-yaḍillū/li-yuḍillū* has already been mentioned.¹¹²

89: Ibn Ḍakwān reads *wa-lā tattabbi'āni* without gemination of the *nūn* and the rest with gemination (i.e., *tattabi'ānni*). There is no disagreement on the gemination of the *tā'*.

90: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'āmantu 'innahū* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *'annahū*).

100: 'Abū Bakr reads *nağ'alu r-riğsa*¹¹³ with *nūn* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yağ'alu*).

103: Ḥafṣ and al-Kisā'i read *nunği l-mu'minūna* without gemination and the rest read with gemination (i.e., *nunağğī*).

¹¹⁰ See F.7:112.

¹¹¹ This is an *'isnād* not included in the *Taysīr*, while the variant *tatabawwa'ā#* does follow the *'isnād* presented in the *Taysīr*. The transmission via 'Ubayd Aḷlāh b. 'Abī Muslim is quoted from Ibn Muğāhid's *Kitāb al-sab'*, and al-Dānī says that the transmission of Hubayrah is taken from a book on 'Āṣim's reading authored by Ibn Muğāhid (al-Dānī 2007, 1187; Ibn Muğāhid 1972, 329).

¹¹² See F.6:119.

¹¹³ Pretzl has a typographical error *الرجس* for *الرجس* (al-Dānī 2008a, 312).

All of them pause on this and what is like it (i.e., final weak verbs with *ğazm*) from what is written in the *muṣḥaf* without *yāʾ* (i.e., *nun(ağ)ğ#*, etc.) in accordance with its writing (ننج), except that which is transmitted (otherwise) from them, so one falls back on it (if nothing exceptional is mentioned).

F.10.1. [Yāʾs of Q10]

There are five *yāʾ*s:

1. *liya ʾan ʾubaddilahū* (Q10:10) and
2. *ʾinniya ʾaḥāfu* (Q10:10) with *fathah* on both by the two of the holy cities and ʾAbū ʿAmr.^(P:123)
3. *naḥsiya ʾin ʾattabiʿu* (Q10:15) and
4. *rabbīya ʾinnahū la-ḥaqqun* (Q10:35) with *fathah* on both by Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿAmr.
5. *ʾin ʾağriya ʾillā ʿalā lḷāhi* (Q10:72) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿĀmir, ʾAbū ʿAmr and Ḥafṣ, and it is like that whenever it occurs.

F.11. Sūrat Hūd (s)

1: *ʾalif-lām-rā/ā/ē*¹¹⁴ and *ʾillā siḥrun/sāḥirun* (Q11:7)¹¹⁵ have already been mentioned.

25: Ibn Kaṭīr, ʾAbū ʿAmr and al-Kisāʾī read *ʾanni lakum(ū) naḍīrun* with *fathah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *ʾinnī*).

27: ʾAbū ʿAmr reads *bādiʾa r-raʾ/āyi* with a *hamzah* that carries a *fathah* after the *dāl*. The rest read it with a *yāʾ* that carries the *fathah* (i.e., *bādiya r-raʾyi*).

28: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *fa-ʿummiyat ʿalaykum* with *ḍammah* on the ʿayn and gemination of the *mīm*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the ʿayn and without gemination on the *mīm* (i.e., *ʿamiyat*).

40: Ḥafṣ reads *min kullin zawğayni ṭnayni* here and in al-Muʾminūn (Q23:27) with *tanwīn* on the *lām*. The rest read it without *tanwīn* (i.e., *min kulli zawğayni ṭnayni*).

¹¹⁴ See F.10:1.

¹¹⁵ See F.5:110.

41: Ḥaḥṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *mağrēhā* with *fathah* on the *mīm* and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *muğrā/āhā*). We have already mentioned the disagreement about (the *'imālah*) of the *rā'* in the chapter on *'imālah*.¹¹⁶

42: 'Āṣim reads *yā bunayya rkab* here with *fathah* on the *yā'*. The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *yā bunayyi*).

'arkam~~ma~~'anā,¹¹⁷ *wa-qūla*, *wa-ğūḍa* (Q11:44),¹¹⁸ *min* (')*ilāhin ḡayru/ihū/i* (Q11:50)¹¹⁹ have already been mentioned.^(P:124)

46: Al-Kisā'i reads *'annahū 'amila* with *kasrah* on the *mīm* and *fathah* on the *lām* and *ḡayra ṣālihin* with *naṣb* of the *rā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *mīm* and *raf'* of the *lām* with *tanwīn* and *raf'* of the *rā'* (i.e., *'annahū 'amalun ḡayru ṣālihin*).

Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *fa-lā tas'alanni* with *fathah* on the *lām* and *kasrah* on the geminated *nūn*. Ibn Kaṭīr also reads it like that except that he placed *fathah* on the *nūn* (i.e., *tas'alanna*). The rest read it with no vowel on the *lām* and *kasrah* on the *nūn* without gemination (i.e., *tas'alni*).

66: Nāfi' and al-Kisā'i read *wa-man ḥizyi yawma'idin* with *fathah* on the *mīm* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *wa-min ḥizyi yawma'idin*).

68: Ḥaḥṣ and Ḥamzah read *'a-lā 'inna ṭamūda* here and in al-Furqān (Q25:38) and al-'Ankabūt (Q29:38) with *fathah* on the *dāl* without *tanwīn* and pause on it without *'alif* (i.e., *ṭamūd#*). The rest read it with *tanwīn* (i.e., *ṭamūdan*) and pause on it with *'alif* (i.e., *ṭamūdā#*) instead.

Al-Kisā'i reads *'a-lā bu'dan li-ṭamūdin* with the *ḥafḍ* of the *dāl* with *tanwīn* and the rest read it with *fathah* on the *dāl* without *tanwīn* (i.e., *li-ṭamūda*).

69: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *qāla silmun* here and in al-Ḍāriyāt (Q51:25) with *kasrah* on the *sīn* and no vowel on the *lām*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *sīn* and *lām* and with an *'alif* after it (i.e., *salāmun*).

71: Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥamzah and Ḥaḥṣ read *ya'qūba // qālat* with *naṣb* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *ya'qūbu*).

¹¹⁶ See U.13.

¹¹⁷ See U.12.5.

¹¹⁸ See F.2:11.

¹¹⁹ See F.7:59.

77: Nāfi^ʿ, Ibn ʿĀmir and al-Kisāʾī read *sūʾa bihim*, *sūʾat* and what is like it with ʾiṣmām of the *ḍammah* on the *sīn*, here and in al-ʿAnkabūt (Q29:33) and al-Mulk (Q67:27). The rest read it with pure pronunciation of the *kasrah* on the *sīn* (i.e., *sīʾa*, *sīʾat*).

81: The two of the holy cities read *fa-sri* and ʾan *isri* with ʾalif *al-waṣl* whenever it occurs, and the rest read it with ʾalif *al-qatʿ* (i.e., *fa-ʾasri*, ʾan ʾasri).

Ibn Kaṭīr and ʾAbū ʿAmr read ʾillā *mraʾatuka* with *rafʿ* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *imraʾataka*).^(P:125)

87: ʾa-*ṣalawātuka*¹²⁰ and ʾalā *makānātikum* (Q11:92)¹²¹ have already been mentioned.

108: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *allaḍīna suʿidū* with *ḍammah* on the *sīn* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *saʿidū*).

111: The two of the holy cities and ʾAbū Bakr read *wa-ʾin kullān* with no vowel on the *nūn* and the rest with gemination (i.e., *wa-ʾinna*).

ʿĀṣim, Ibn ʿĀmir and Ḥamzah read *lammā li-yuwaffiyannahum* here,¹²² in Yā-Sīn *lammā ḡamīʿun* (Q36:32) and in al-Ṭāriq *lammā ʾalayhā* (Q86:4) with gemination on the *mīm*, in these three places. The rest read it without gemination (i.e., *lamā*).

123: Nāfi^ʿ and Ḥafṣ read ʾilayhi *yurḡaʿu* with *ḍammah* on the *yāʾ* and *fathah* of the *ḡīm*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *yāʾ* and *kasrah* on the *ḡīm* (i.e. *yarḡiʿu*).

Nāfi^ʿ, Ibn ʿĀmir and Ḥafṣ read ʾammā *taʾmalūna* here and at the end of al-Naml (Q27:93) with *tāʾ* and the rest with *yāʾ* (i.e., *yaʾmalūna*).

F.11.1. [Yāʾs of Q11]

There are 18 *yāʾ*s:

1. *fa-ʾinniya ʾaḥāfu* (Q11:3),
2. *fa-ʾinniya ʾaḥāfu* (Q11:82),
3. ʾinniya ʾaʿiḍuka (Q11:46),
4. ʾinniya ʾaʿūdu *bika* (Q11:47),
5. ʾinniya ʾaḥāfu (Q11:26) and

¹²⁰ See F.9:103.

¹²¹ See F.6:135.

¹²² Pretzl does not have *hunā* here (al-Dānī 2008a, 45).

6. *šiqāqīya* 'an (Q11:89) with *fathah* on all six by the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr.
7. 'anniya 'inniya (Q11:10),
8. *nuṣṣīya* 'in (')arattu (Q11:34),
9. 'inniya 'idān lamina (Q11:31) and
10. *fī ḍayfiya* 'a-laysa (Q11:78) with *fathah* on all four by Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr.
11. *wa-lākinniya* 'arā/ā/ēkum(ū) (Q11:29) and
12. *wa-'inniya* 'arā/ā/ēkum(ū) (Q11:84) with *fathah* for both by Nāfi', al-Bazzī and 'Abū 'Amr.
13. 'in (')ağriya 'illā (Q11:29) and
14. 'in (')ağriya 'illā (Q11:51) with *fathah* for both by Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir, 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥafṣ.
15. *faṭaraniya* 'a-fa-lā (Q11:51) with *fathah* by Nāfi' and al-Bazzī.^(P:126)
16. 'inniya 'uṣḥidu lllāha (Q11:54) with *fathah* by Nāfi'.
17. *wa-mā tawfīqiya* 'illā bi-llāhi (Q11:88) with *fathah* by Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū 'Amr.
18. 'a-raḥṭiya 'a'azzu (Q11:92) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities, 'Abū 'Amr and Ibn Ḍakwān.

F.11.2. [Removed *yā*'s of Q11]

There are three removed ones:

1. *fa-lā tas'alanni/tas'alni* (Q11:46) with the retention (of the *yā*') in connected speech by Warṣ and 'Abū 'Amr.
2. *wa-lā tuḥzūni* (Q11:78) with the retention (of the *yā*') in connected speech by 'Abū 'Amr.
3. *yawma ya'/ātī* (Q11:105) with retention (of the *yā*') in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr, and retention (of the *yā*') in connected speech by Nāfi', 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i.

F.12. Sūrat Yūsuf (s)

4: Ibn 'Āmir reads *yā 'abata* with *fathah* on the *tā*' whenever it occurs (Q12:100; Q19:42, 43, 44, 45; Q28:26; Q37:102) and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *yā 'abati*). Ibn Kaṭīr and

Ibn ‘Āmir pause on it as *yā ‘abah#* with *hā*’ and it has already been mentioned in the chapter on pause.¹²³

5: Ḥafṣ reads *yā bunayya* here and in al-Šaffāt (Q37:102) with *fathah* on the *yā*’. The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *yā bunayyi*).

7: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *‘āyatun li-s-sā’ilīna* in the singular, and the rest in the plural (i.e., *‘āyātun*).

10: Nāfi‘ reads *ḡayābāti l-ḡubbi* in two places (here and in Q12:15) in the plural and the rest in the singular (i.e., *ḡayābati l-ḡubbi*).

11: All of them read *mā laka ta’/āman^wnā* with assimilation of the first *nūn* to the second one with *‘išmām* of the *ḍammah*. The function of the *‘išmām* in that word is to indicate the vowel on the *nūn* which receives no articulation (i.e., *ta’man^wnā/tāman^wnā*).

It may (also) be read with *‘ihfā*’, without true assimilation because the vowel is not made (fully) silent immediately, rather it is weakened in its sound, so that in this way there is a separation between what is assimilated and what it is assimilated to (i.e., *ta’manūnā/tāmanūnā*). This is the opinion of most of my teachers, and it is correct for the specification of its indication and its soundness in terms of analogy.^(P:127)

12: The Kufans and Nāfi‘ read *yarta‘(i) wa-yal‘ab* with *yā*’ on both, and the rest with *nūn* (i.e., *narta‘(i) wa-nal‘ab*).

The two of the holy cities apply *kasrah* to the *‘ayn* of *yarta‘i/narta‘i* and the rest makes it *ḡazm* (i.e., *yarta‘/narta‘*).

13: Warš, al-Kisā’ī and ‘Abū ‘Amr—when he weakens his *hamzah*—read *aḍ-ḍibu* without *hamzah*. The rest read it with *hamzah* in connected speech and pause. Ḥamzah reads it according to his principle in pause (i.e., *aḍ-ḍi’bu* in connected speech, *aḍ-ḍib#* in pause).¹²⁴

19: The Kufans read *yā bušrā/ē* in the pattern *fu‘lā/ē*. Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī apply *‘imālah* to the *fathah* (i.e., *yā bušrē*). The rest read it with *‘alif* after the *rā*’ and *fathah* on the *yā*’ (i.e., *yā bušrā/ā-ya*). Warš reads the *rā*’ in between the two sounds (i.e., *yā bušrā-ya*), and the rest read it with pure *fathah* (i.e., *yā bušrā-ya*).

¹²³ See U.18.

¹²⁴ See U.11.6.1. for Ḥamzah’s pausal rules.

The majority of the people of the oral tradition in the manner of 'Abū 'Amr read it like that (i.e., *ya-buṣṣrā-ya*, not *ya-buṣṣrē-ya*). This is what Ibn Muğāhid says,¹²⁵ and I recited it like that, and texts from him via al-Sūsī from al-Yazīdī and others also convey it.¹²⁶

23: Nāfi' and Ibn Ḍakwān read *hita laka* with *kasrah* on the *hā'* without *hamzah* and *fathah* on the *tā'*. Hišām reads it like that, except that he did apply the *hamzah* (i.e., *hi'ta laka*), and it has been transmitted from him with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* (i.e., *hi'tu laka*). Ibn Kaṭīr reads it with *fathah* on the *hā'* and *ḍammah* on the *tā'* (i.e., *haytu laka*). The rest read it with *fathah* on both (i.e., *hayta laka*).

24: The Kufans and Nāfi' read *al-muḥlaṣina* when before it there is a definite article whenever it occurs with *fathah* on the *lām*. The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *al-muḥliṣina*).

31: 'Abū 'Amr reads *ḥāšā li-llāhi* in two cases (here and in Q12:51) with 'alif in connected speech, and when he pauses, he removes it, following what is written (i.e., *حش ḥāš#*). This is transmitted from al-Yazīdī in written form by his son 'Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān [Ibn al-Yazīdī], 'Abū Ḥamdūn, 'Aḥmad b. Wāṣil and 'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī] in the transmission of 'Abū al-'Abbās the belletrist from him (al-Sūsī).¹²⁷ The rest read it without 'alif in connected speech and pause (i.e., *ḥāša, ḥāš#*).^(P:128)

47: Ḥafṣ reads *da'aban* with a vowel on the *hamzah* and the rest without a vowel (i.e., *da' / āban*)

49: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-fihi ta'ṣirūna* with *tā'*, the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *ya'ṣirūna*).

53: Qālūn and al-Bazzī read *bi-s-suwwi 'illā* with a geminate *wāw* replacing the *hamzah* in connected speech, and full pronunciation of the *hamzah* of 'illā. Warš and Qunbul treat the two *hamzahs* carrying *kasrahs* according to their principles (i.e., *bi-s-sū'illā*)¹²⁸ and so does

¹²⁵ Al-Dānī cites Ibn Muğāhid's book *Kitāb qirā'at 'Abi 'Amr* in his *Ġāmi' al-bayān* for this opinion (al-Dānī 2007, 1226).

¹²⁶ The discussion here clearly implies that some people stipulated that this word is to be read as *yā buṣṣrē-ya* (or *yā buṣṣrā-ya*) in the reading of 'Abū 'Amr, which is the expected reflex of a *fu'lā* noun whose last root letter is *rā'* (see U.13.). See the discussion in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* and the *Našr* (Ibn al-Ġazari 2018, §1987; al-Dānī 2007, 1125–26).

¹²⁷ None of the people mentioned here are referred to in U.4.3., but they are present in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān*, except for the transmission path of 'Abū al-'Abbās from al-Sūsī (al-Dānī 2007, 327–29).

¹²⁸ See U.11.2.

'Abū 'Amr also according to his principle (i.e., *bi-s-sū 'illā*). The rest treat them according to their principles (i.e., *bi-s-sū'i 'illā*).

56: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *ḥaytu našā'u* with *nūn* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *ḥaytu yašā'u*).

62: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-qāla li-fityānihi* with 'alif and *nūn*, and the rest read it with *tā'* without the 'alif (i.e., *li-fityatihī*).

63: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'aḥānā yaktal* with *yā'* and the rest with *nūn* (i.e., *naktal*).

64: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *ḥayrun ḥafiḍan* with *fathah* on the *ḥā'*, 'alif after it and *kasrah* on the *fā'*. The rest read it with a *kasrah* on the *ḥā'*, no vowel on the *fā'* and without an 'alif (i.e., *ḥifḍan*).

76: *narfa'u daraḡāti(n)* has already been mentioned.¹²⁹

80: Al-Bazzī, in my recitation to [‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ğa‘far] Ibn Ḥuwāstī al-Fārisī, transmitting from al-Naqqāš from 'Abū Rabī'ah from him (al-Bazzī),¹³⁰ reads *fa-lammā stāyasū minhū, wa-lā tāyasū min rawḥi llāhi 'innahū lā yāyasu* (Q12:87), *ḥattā 'idā stāyasa r-rusulu* (Q12:110) and in al-Ra'd *'a-fa-lam yāyas illādīna 'āmanū* (Q13:31) with 'alif and *fathah* on the *yā'* without *hamzah* in all five cases. The rest read it with *hamzah* and no vowel on the *yā'* without 'alif in the word (i.e., *istay'asū, tay'asū, yay'asu, istay'asa, yay'as*). When Ḥamzah pauses, he transfers the vowel of the *hamzah* onto the *yā'* in accordance with his principle (i.e., *istayasū#, tayasū#, yayas#, istayas#, yayas#*).^(P:129)

90: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *'innaka la-'anta* with a *hamzah* carrying a *kasrah* as a declarative sentence. The rest read it as an interrogative and follow their principles for that (i.e., *'a-'innaka, 'ā.innaka, 'a.innaka, etc.*).¹³¹

109: Ḥafṣ reads *nūḥi 'ilayhim* here and in al-Naḥl (Q16:43) and the first attestation in al-'Anbi'ā' (Q21:7) with *nūn* and *kasrah* on the *ḥā'*. The rest read it with *yā'* and *fathah* on the *yā'* (i.e., *yūḥā/ā*). Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i applied *'imālah* according to their principle (i.e., *yūḥē*).

Nāfi', 'Āṣim and Ibn 'Āmir read *'a-fa-lā ta'qilūna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *ya'qilūna*).

¹²⁹ See F.6:83.

¹³⁰ This is the *tilāwah 'isnād* of the *Taysīr*, but the *Ğāmi'* *al-bayān* mentions that most paths from al-Bazzī transmit with *hamzah* (al-Dānī 2007, 1234).

¹³¹ See U.11.1.

110: The Kufans read *qad kuḏibū* without gemination on the *ḏāl* and the rest with gemination (i.e., *kuḏḏibū*).

Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *fa-nuḡḡiya man našā'u* with a single *nūn*, gemination of the *ḡim* and *fathah* on the *yā'*. The rest read it with two *nūns*, with the second one carrying no vowel, no gemination of the *ḡim* and no vowel on the *yā'* (i.e., *nunḡī*).

F.12.1. [Yā's of Q12]

There are 22 *yā's*:

1. *li-yahzuniya 'an* (Q12:13) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities.
2. *rabbiya 'ahsana* (Q12:23),
3. *'arā/ē/āniya 'a'širu* (Q12:36),
4. *'arā/ē/āniya 'ahmalu* (Q12:36),
5. *'inniya 'arā sab'a* (Q12:36),
6. *'inniya 'ana/ā 'ahūka* (Q12:69),
7. *'abiya 'aw yahkuma llāhu* (Q12:80),
8. and *'inniya 'a'lamu* (Q12:96) with *fathah* on all seven by the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr.
9. *'inniya 'arā/ē/āniya* (Q12:36),
10. *'inniya 'arā/ē/āniya* (Q12:36)—I mean the *yā'* of *'innī*,
11. *rabbiya 'innī taraktu* (Q12:37),
12. *nafsiya 'inna* (Q12:53),
13. *rabbiya 'inna* (Q12:53),
14. *ya'/ādāna liya 'abiya* (Q12:80)—I mean the *yā'* of *liya*,
15. *rabbiya 'innahū huwa* (Q12:98)^(P:130)
16. and *biya 'id 'ahraḡanī* (Q12:100) with *fathah* of all eight by Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr.
17. *'ābā'ī 'ibrāhīm* (Q12:38)
18. and *la'allī 'arḡī'u* (Q12:46) both without a vowel by the Kufans.
19. *'inniya 'ūfi l-kayla* (Q12:59)
20. and *sabiliya 'ad'ū* (Q12:108) both with *fathah* by Nāfi'.
21. *wa-ḥuzniya 'ilā* (Q12:86) with *fathah* by Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū 'Amr.
22. *bayna 'ihwatiya 'inna* (Q12:100) with *fathah* by Warš.

F.12.2. [Removed *yā*'s of Q12]

There are two removed ones:

1. *ḥattā tu'tūnī mawṭiqan* (Q12:66) with retention (of the *yā*') in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr. With the retention (of the *yā*') in connected speech by 'Abū 'Amr (i.e., *tu'/ūtūnī*, *tu'/ūtūn#*).
2. *'innahū man yattaqī* (Q12:90) with retention of the (*yā*') in connected speech and pause by Qunbul, and removal by the rest in connected speech and pause (i.e., *yattaqqi*, *yattaq#*).

'Abū Rabī'ah and Ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ transmitted from Qunbul¹³² *narta'ī(#)* (Q12:12) with retention of the *yā*' after the *'ayn* in connected speech and pause, but transmitters other than those two report from (Qunbul) removal in connected speech and pause (i.e., *narta'ī*, *narta'#*). The rest removed it on both (i.e., *y/narta'ī*, *y/narta'#*).

F.13. Sūrat al-Ra'd

3: I have already mentioned *yugšī/yuḡaššī l-layla*.¹³³

4: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥafṣ read *zar'un wa-naḥīlun šinwānun ḡayru* with *raf'* of all four words. The rest read it with *ḥafḍ* (i.e., *zar'in wa-naḥīlin šinwānin ḡayri*).

'Aṣim and Ibn 'Āmir read *yusqā bi-mā'in* with *yā*' and the rest with *tā*' (i.e., *tusqā/ē/ā*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-yufaḍḍilu ba'dahā* with *yā*' and the rest with *nūn* (i.e., *wa-nufaḍḍilu*).

5: They disagreed on the two interrogatives when they meet, for example, in the words of the Almighty (*'a-*)*'idā kunnā turāban* (*'a-*)*'innā la-fī ḥalqin ḡadidin*, (*'a-*)*'idā ḡalalnā fī l-'arḍi* (*'a-*)*'innā la-fī ḥalqin ḡadidin* (Q32:10) and what is like it. These are altogether 11 places (Q13:5; Q17:49, 98; Q23:82; Q27:67; Q29:28–29; Q32:10; Q37:16, 53; Q56:47; Q79:10–11).^(P:131)

So Nāfi' and al-Kisā'i used to make the first of the two an interrogative and the second declarative (*'ā-/idā kunnā turāban 'innā la-fī ḥalqin ḡadidin*). Nāfi' makes the interrogative

¹³² Neither of these transmission paths appear in the *Taysīr*, but they are present in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 305–6).

¹³³ See F.7:54.

with *hamzah* and *yā'* (i.e., *bayna bayn*) after it (i.e., 'a-*idā kunnā turāban 'innā la-fi ḥalqin ḡadīdin*).¹³⁴ Qālūn introduces an 'alif between them (i.e., 'ā-*idā*). Al-Kisā'i places two *hamzahs* (i.e., 'a-'*idā*).

Nāfi' deviated from this principle in al-Naml (Q27:67) and al-'Ankabūt (Q29:28–29), so he makes the first of them the declarative and the second the interrogative (i.e., '*idā kunnā turāban wa-'abā'unā 'ā-innā la-muḥraḡūna; 'innakum la-ta'ātūna l-faḥiṣata mā sabaqakum bihā min (')aḥadin min al-'ālimīna // 'ā-innakum la-ta'ātūna*).

Al-Kisā'i also deviates from this principle, but only in al-'Ankabūt. He places the interrogative on both (i.e., 'a-'*innakum la-ta'tūna l-faḥiṣatamā sabaqakum bihā min 'aḥadin min al-'ālimīna // 'a-'innakum la-ta'tūna*).

He also adds a *nūn* to the declarative in al-Naml, so he reads ('a-'*idā kunnā turāban wa-'ābā'unā*) '*innanā la-muḥraḡūna* with two *nūns*.

Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read both of the two (potential) interrogatives with *hamzah* and *yā'* in the whole Qur'ān (i.e., 'a-*idā kunnā turāban 'a-innā la-fi ḥalqin ḡadīdin*, etc.). Ibn Kaṭīr did not make the vowel long after the *hamzah* but 'Abū 'Amr did (i.e., 'ā-*idā ... 'ā-innā*).

Ibn Kaṭīr deviates from his principle in one place, namely, in al-'Ankabūt (Q29:28–29), so he makes the first of the two a declarative (i.e., '*innakumū la-ta'tūna l-faḥiṣata mā sabaqakumū bihā min 'aḥadin min al-'ālimīna // 'a-innakumū la-ta'tūna*).

'Aṣīm and Ḥamzah read all of the two (potential) interrogatives with two *hamzahs* whenever they occur (i.e., 'a-'*idā kunnā turāban 'a-'innā la-fi ḥalqin ḡadīdin*, etc.).

Ḥafṣ deviates from his principle in the first occurrence of al-'Ankabūt only: he makes it a declarative with a single *hamzah* that carries the *kasrah* (i.e., '*innakum la-ta'tūna l-faḥiṣata mā sabaqakum bihā min 'aḥadin min al-'ālimīna // 'a-'innakum la-ta'tūna*).^(P:132)

Ibn 'Āmir reads it, making the first of the two (potential) interrogatives a declarative with a single *hamzah* that carries a *kasrah* and the second as an interrogative with two *hamzahs* (i.e., '*idā kunnā turāban 'ā-'innā la-fi ḥalqin ḡadīdin*, etc.). Hišām introduces between the two *hamzahs* an 'alif (i.e., 'ā-'*innā*), and Ibn Ḍakwān does not do so whenever it occurs (i.e., 'a-'*innā*).

¹³⁴ This is a somewhat imprecise description: it is rather a *hamzah* pronounced *bayna bayn*, see the discussion in U.11.1.

He (Ibn ‘Āmir) deviates from his principle in three places: in al-Naml (Q27:67), al-Wāqī‘ah (Q56:47) and al-Nāzi‘āt (79:10–11). In al-Naml and al-Nāzi‘āt he reads it with the first one made an interrogative and the second a declarative, and he adds a *nūn* to the declarative of al-Naml just like al-Kisā‘ī (i.e., *’ā-’idā kunnā turāban wa-’ābā’unā ’innā; ’ā-’innā la-mazdūdūna fī l-ḥāfirati // ’idā kunnā ’idāman naḥiratan*).¹³⁵ He reads it in al-Wāqī‘ah making both of them interrogatives with two *hamzahs*. Hišām according to his principle introduces an *’alif* between the two *hamzahs* (i.e., *’ā-’idā mutnā wa-kunnā turāban wa-’idāman ’ā-’innā*).

7: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *hādīn, wālīn, wāqīn* and *mā ’inda llāhi bāqīn* with *tanwīn* in connected speech, but when he pauses on it, he pauses on all four words with *yā’* whenever it occurs and nothing else (i.e., *hādī#, wālī#, wāqī#, bāqī#*). The rest pronounce it in connected speech with *tanwīn* but pause without the *yā’* (i.e., *hād#, wāl#, wāq#, bāq#*).

16: ‘Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā‘ī read *’am hal yastawī* with *yā’* and the rest with *tā’* (i.e., *tastawī*).

17: Ḥaṣṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā‘ī read *wa-mimmā yūqīdūna* with *yā’* and the rest with *tā’* (i.e., *tūqīdūna*).

31: Al-Bazzī reads *’a-fa-lam yāyasu* with *fathah* on the *yā’* without *hamzah*, as was already mentioned.¹³⁶

33: The Kufans read *wa-ṣuddū ’an is-sabīli* and in Ġāfir (Q40:37) *wa-ṣudda ’an is-sabīli* with *ḍammah* on the *ṣād* of both, and the rest read it with *fathah* on both (i.e., *ṣaddū, ṣadda*).

35: *’uk(u)luhā* was already mentioned.¹³⁷ (P:133)

39: Ibn Kaṭīr, ‘Āṣim and ‘Abū ‘Amr read *wa-yuṭbitu wa-’indahum(ū)* without gemination and the rest read it with gemination (*wa-yuṭabbitu*).

42: The Kufans and Ibn ‘Āmir read *wa-sa-ya’lamu l-kuffāru* in the plural and the rest in the singular (i.e., *al-kāfiru*).

¹³⁵ This reading is the result of a different parsing of the undotted *rasm* *اننا* as *اننا* rather than *اينا*.

¹³⁶ See F.12:80.

¹³⁷ See F.2:260.

F.13.1. [Removed *yā'* of Q13]

There is a removed *yā'*: *al-kabīru l-muta'ālī* (Q13:9) with retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr. The rest remove it in connected speech and pause (i.e., *al-muta'ālī*, *al-muta'āl#*).

F.14. Sūrat 'Ibrāhīm (s)

2: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *al-ḥamīdi* // *llāhu* with *raf'* of the *hā'* and the rest with *ğarr* when starting on this verse and in connected speech (*fī al-ḥālayn*) (i.e., (#) *allāhi*).

9: *rus(u)luhum* (Q14:12),¹³⁸ *sub(u)lanā* (Q14:18)¹³⁹ and *ar-riḥ/ar-riyāḥ*¹⁴⁰ have already been mentioned.

19: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *ḥāliqū s-samāwāti wa-l-'arḍi*, and in al-Nūr *ḥāliqū kullī dābbatin* (Q24:45) with *'alif*, *raf'* of the *qāf* in the pattern *fā'il* and *ḥafḍ* of what comes after that. The rest read *ḥalaqa* in the pattern *fa'ala* with *naṣb* of what comes after it except that the *tā'* of *as-samāwāti* receives *kasrah* because it is the *tā'* of the feminine plural (i.e., *ḥalaqa s-samawāti wa-l-(')arḍa*).

22: Ḥamzah reads *bi-muṣṣriḥiyyi 'innī* with *kasrah* on the *yā'*. This is a dialectal usage al-Farrā'¹⁴¹ and Quṭrub¹⁴² talked about, and 'Abū 'Amr condoned it.¹⁴³ The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *bi-muṣṣriḥiyya*).

30: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *li-yaḍillū* here and *li-yaḍilla* (Q22:9) in al-Ḥaḡḡ, Luqmān (Q31:6) and al-Zumar (Q39:8) with *fathah* on the *yā'* of all four and the rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *li-yuḍillū*, *li-yuḍilla*).^(P:134)

¹³⁸ See F.2:285.

¹³⁹ See F.2:285.

¹⁴⁰ See F.2:163.

¹⁴¹ Al-Farrā' attributes it not to Ḥamzah but Ḥamzah's teacher al-'A'māš and Yaḥyā b. Waṭṭāb, who was in turn al-'A'māš's teacher. He explicitly calls this form erroneous (*wahm*) (al-Farrā' 1983, II:75).

¹⁴² Quṭrub attributes it to al-'A'māš (and also to Ḥamzah in Quṭrub 2021, 774). He calls it "ugly and detestable" (*radī'un margūbun 'anh*) (Quṭrub 2021, 413; see also 774).

¹⁴³ Presumably the reader 'Abū 'Amr who was also an authority as a grammarian and could be expected to have an opinion on such matters. But possibly it is a third-person reference to al-Dānī himself.

31: *lā bay‘a/un fihi wa-lā ḥalāla/un* has already been mentioned.¹⁴⁴

37: Hišām, in my recitation to ‘Abū al-Faḥ, reads ‘*afīdatan min an-nāsi* with *yā’* after the *hamzah*, and like that it specified in writing by al-Ḥulwānī from him,¹⁴⁵ the rest read it without *yā’* (i.e., ‘*afīdatan*).

46: Al-Kisā’ī reads *la-tazūlu minhu* with *fathah* on the first *lām* and *raf‘* on the second. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the first and *naṣb* of the second (i.e., *li-tazūla*).

F.14.1. [Yā’s of Q14]

There are three *yā’s*:

1. *wa-mā kāna liya* (Q14:22) with *fathah* by Ḥafṣ.
2. *qul li-‘ibādī llaḏīna* (Q14:31) with no vowel by Ibn ‘Āmir, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī.
3. ‘*inniya ‘askantu* (Q14:37) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and ‘Abū ‘Amr.

F.14.2. [Removed yā’s of Q14]

There are three removed ones:

1. *wa-ḥāfa wa‘idī* (Q14:14) with retention (of the *yā’*) in connected speech by Warš.
2. *bi-mā ‘ašraktumūnī* (Q14:22) with retention (of the *yā’*) in connected speech by ‘Abū ‘Amr.
3. *wa-taqabbal du‘ā’i* (Q14:40) with retention (of the *yā’*) in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr, and with retention (of the *yā’*) in connected speech by Warš, ‘Abū ‘Amr and Ḥamzah.

F.15. Sūrat al-Ḥiğr

2: Nāfi‘ and ‘Āṣim read *rubamā* without gemination of the *bā’* and the rest read it with gemination (i.e., *rubbamā*).

8: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī read *mā nunazzilu* with two *nūns*, the first carrying a *ḍammah* and the second a *fathah*, and with *kasrah* on the *zāy*, and *al-malā’ikata* with *naṣb*.

¹⁴⁴ See F.2:254.

¹⁴⁵ Al-Ḥulwānī had a book dedicated to the transmission of Hišām (see Hamdan 2018, 62), which al-Dānī is referencing here.

'Abū Bakr reads it with *tā'* carrying a *ḍammah*, *fathah* on the *nūn* and *zāy*, and *al-malā'ikatu* with *raf'* (i.e., *tunazzalu l-malā'ikatu*). The rest read it like that, except that they apply the *fathah* to the *tā'* (i.e., *tanazzalu l-malā'ikatu*).^(P:135)

15: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *'innamā sukirat* without gemination of the *kāf*, and the rest with gemination (i.e., *sukkirat*).

22: *ar-rīḥa/riyāḥa laqāqīḥa*,¹⁴⁶ *ḡuz(u)'un* (Q15:44),¹⁴⁷ *al-muḥli/aṣīna* (Q15:40)¹⁴⁸ and *fa-'asri/fa-sri* (Q15:65)¹⁴⁹ have already been mentioned.

45: Nāfi', 'Abū 'Amr, Ḥafṣ and Hišām read *wa-'uyūn* and *al-'uyūn* with *ḍammah* on the 'ayn whenever it occurs. The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *wa-iyūn*, *al-iyūn*).

53: *'innā nabṣuruka/nubašširuka* has already been mentioned.¹⁵⁰

56: 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i read *wa-man yaqniṭu*, in al-Rūm *yaqniṭūna* (Q30:36) and in al-Zumar (Q39:53) *lā taqniṭū* with *kasrah* on the *nūn* in all three and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *yaqnaṭu*, *yaqnaṭūna*, *taqnaṭū*).

59: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'innā la-munḡūhum* without gemination and the rest with gemination (i.e., *la-munaḡḡūhum(ū)*).

60: 'Abū Bakr reads *qadarnā 'innahā* here and in al-Naml (Q27:57) without gemination of the *dāl*. The rest read it with gemination (i.e., *qaddarnā*).

F.15.1. [Yā's of Q15]

There are four *yā's*:

1. *'ibādiya* (2.) *'anniya 'ana* (Q15:49) and
2. *'inniya 'ana n-naḍīru* (Q15:89) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr.
3. *banātiya 'in kuntum* (Q15:71) with *fathah* by Nāfi'.^(P:136)

¹⁴⁶ See F.2:163.

¹⁴⁷ See F.2:260.

¹⁴⁸ See F.12:24.

¹⁴⁹ See F.11:81.

¹⁵⁰ See F.3:39.

F.16. Sūrat al-Naḥl

1, 3: I have already mentioned ‘*ammā y/tušrikūna* in these two places.¹⁵¹

11: ‘Abū Bakr reads *nunbitu lakum* with *nūn* and the rest with *yā’* (i.e., *yunbitu*).

12: Ibn ‘Āmir reads *wa-š-šamsu wa-l-qamaru wa-n-nuḡūmu musaḥḥarātun* with *rafʿ* of all four. Ḥafṣ reads *rafʿ* of *an-nuḡūmu* and *musahḥarātun* only (i.e., *wa-š-šamsa wa-l-qamara wa-n-nuḡūmu musahḥarātun*). The rest read with *naṣb* and with the *tā’* of *musahḥarātun* carrying a *kasrah* (i.e., *wa-š-šamsa wa-l-qamara wa-n-nuḡūma musahḥarātun*).

20: ‘Āṣim reads *wa-llaḍīna yadʿūna* with *yā’* and the rest with *tā’* (i.e., *tadʿūna*).

27: Al-Bazzī, with disagreement in transmission from him, reads ‘*ayna šurakāya llaḍīna* without *hamzah*. The rest read it with *hamzah* (i.e., *šurakā’iya*).

Nāfi‘ reads *tušāqqūni fihim* with *kasrah* on the *nūn* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *tušāqqūna*).

28: Ḥamzah reads *allaḍīna yatawaffēhum* in two places (here and in Q16:32) with *yā’* and the rest with *tā’* (i.e., *tatawaffā/ē/āhum(ū)*).

33: ‘illā ‘*an y/ta’/ātīhi/umu l-malā’ikatu* has already been mentioned.¹⁵²

37: The Kufans read *lā yahdī man* with *fathah* on the *yā’* and *kasrah* on the *dāl*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *yā’* and *fathah* on the *dāl* (i.e., *yuhdā/ā*).

40: Ibn ‘Āmir and al-Kisā’ī read *fa-yakūna* here and in Yā-Sīn (Q36:82) with *naṣb*. The rest read it with *rafʿ* (i.e., *fa-yakūnu*).

43: *nūḥī/ē/ā/ā ‘ilayhi/um(ū)* has already been mentioned.^{153 (P:137)}

48: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī read ‘*a-wa-lam taraw ‘ilā mā* with *tā’* and the rest with *yā’* (i.e., *yaraw*).

‘Abū ‘Amr reads *tatafayya’u ḍilālulhū* with *tā’* and the rest with *yā’* (i.e., *yatafayya’u*).

62: Nāfi‘ reads *mufriṭūna* with *kasrah* on the *rā’* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *mufraṭūna*).

66: Nāfi‘, Ibn ‘Āmir and ‘Abū Bakr read *nasqikum* here and in al-Mu’minūn (Q23:21) with *fathah* on the *nūn* and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *nusqikum(ū)*).

¹⁵¹ See F.10:18.

¹⁵² See F.6:158.

¹⁵³ See F.12:109.

68: *ya'ri/ušūna* has already been mentioned.¹⁵⁴

71: 'Abū Bakr read *tağḥadūna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yağḥadūna*).

78: *min buṭūni 'u/immi/ahātikum(ū)* has already been mentioned.¹⁵⁵

79: Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah read *'a-lam taraw 'ilā ṭ-ṭayri* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yaraw*).

80: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *yawma ḍa'nikum* with no vowel on the 'ayn and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *ḍa'anikum(ū)*).

96: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Āṣim read *wa-li-nağziyanna llaḍīna* with *nūn*. Al-Naqqāš said, transmitting from al-'Aḥfaš from Ibn Ḍakwān, that he reads it like that. In my opinion, however, this is a mistake, because al-'Aḥfaš, transmitting from him, mentioned in his book that it is with *yā'*, and the rest read it with *yā'* (i.e., *wa-li-yağziyanna llaḍīna*).¹⁵⁶

102: *al-quḍ(u)s* has been mentioned.¹⁵⁷

103: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *yalḥadūna* here with *fathah* on the *yā'* and *ḥā'*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* (i.e., *yulḥidūna*).

110: Ibn 'Āmir reads *min ba'di mā fatanū* with *fathah* on the *fā'* and *tā'*; the rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *fā'* and *kasrah* on the *tā'* (i.e., *futinū*).^(P:138)

127: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *fī ḍiqin* here and in an-Naml (Q27:70) with *kasrah* on the *ḍād*. The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *ḍayqin*).

There are no *yā'*s in it at all.

F.17. Sūrat al-'Isrā'

2: 'Abū 'Amr reads *'a-lā yattaḥidū* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *tattaḥidū*).

7: 'Abū Bakr, Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah read *li-yasū'a wuğūhakum* with *yā'* and *naṣb* of the *hamzah* in the singular. Al-Kisā'i reads it with *nūn* and *naṣb* of the *hamzah* in the plural (i.e.,

¹⁵⁴ See F.7:137.

¹⁵⁵ See F.4:11.

¹⁵⁶ Al-'Aḥfaš had two books dedicated to the transmission of Ibn Ḍakwān, *Kitāb al-ḥāṣṣ* and *Kitāb al-'āmm* which sometimes differ in the details. As these works are not extant, it is difficult to decide which of the two he might be referring to (Hamdan 2018, 75–76).

¹⁵⁷ See F.2:87.

li-nasū'a). The rest read it with *yā'* and a *hamzah* that carries a *ḍammah* in between two *wāws* in the plural (i.e., *li-yasū'ū*).

9: *yabšuru/yubašširu l-mu'minīna* has already been mentioned.¹⁵⁸

13: Ibn 'Āmir reads *yulaqqāhu* with gemination and a *yā'* that carries a *ḍammah*. The rest read it without gemination and with a *yā'* that carries a *fathah* (i.e., *yalqā/ā/ēhū*).

23: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'immā yabluḡanni* with *kasrah* on the *nūn* and with an 'alif before it. The rest read it with *fathah* (on the *nūn*) without 'alif and there is no disagreement on the gemination of the *nūn* (i.e., *yabluḡanna*).

Nāfi' and Ḥafṣ read *'uffin* here, in al-'Anbi'ā' (Q21:67) and in al-'Aḥqāf (Q46:17) with *tanwīn* and with *kasrah* on the *fā'*. Ibn Kaṭīr and Ibn 'Āmir read it with *fathah* without *tanwīn* (i.e., *'uffa*). The rest read it with *kasrah* without *tanwīn* (i.e., *'uffi*).

31: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *kāna ḥiṭ'an* with *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* and *fathah* on the *ṭā'* with length. Ibn Ḍakwān reads it with *fathah* on the *ḥā'* and *ṭā'* without length (i.e., *ḥaṭ'an*). The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* without a vowel on the *ṭā'* (i.e., *ḥiṭ'an*).^(P:139)

33: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *fa-lā tusrif*. The rest read it with *yā'* (i.e., *yusrif*).

35: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *bi-l-qistāsi* here and in al-Šu'arā' (Q26:182) with *kasrah* on the *qāf*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *bi-l-qustāsi*).

38: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *kāna sayyi'uhū* with *ḍammah* on the *hamzah* and *hā'* as masculine (noun). The rest read it with *fathah* on both with *tanwīn*, as feminine (noun) (i.e., *sayyi'atan*).

41: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *li-yaḍkurū* here and in al-Furqān (Q25:50) with no vowel on the *ḍāl* and with *ḍammah* on an ungeminated *kāf*. The rest read it with *fathah* on both and with gemination on both (i.e., *li-yaḍḍakkarū*).

42: Ibn Kaṭīr and Ḥafṣ read *kamā yaqūlūna* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *taqūlūna*).

43: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'ammā taqūlūna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yaqūlūna*).

44: The two of the holy cities, Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū Bakr read *yusabbiḥu lahū* with a *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *tusabbiḥu*).

¹⁵⁸ See F.3:39.

49, 98: The two interrogatives in two places¹⁵⁹ and *wa-za/ubūran* (Q17:55)¹⁶⁰ have already been mentioned.

64: Ḥafṣ reads *wa-rağilika* with *kasrah* on the *ğim*; the rest read it without vowel (i.e., *wa-rağlika*).

68, 69: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read 'an *naḥsifa*, 'aw *nursila*, 'an *nu'idakum(ū)*, *fa-nursila* and *fa-nuğriqakum(ū)* with *nūn* on all five. The rest read it with *yā'* (i.e., *yaḥsifa*, *yursila*, *yu'idakum*, *fa-yursila*, *fa-yuğriqakum*).

72: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read 'a'mē in both occurrences (in this verse) with 'imālah. 'Abū 'Amr applies 'imālah to the first one only (i.e., 'a'mē ... 'a'mā). Warš reads them in between (the two sounds) in accordance with his general principle (i.e., 'a'mā ... 'a'mā). The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., 'a'mā ... 'a'mā).^(P:140)

76: Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *ḥilāfaka 'illā* with *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* and *fathah* on the *lām* with 'alif after it. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *ḥā'* and with no vowel on the *lām* (i.e., *ḥalfaka*).

83: Ibn Ḍakwān reads *wa-nā'a bi-ğānibihi* here and in Fuṣṣilat (Q41:51), putting the *hamzah* after the 'alif. The rest places the *hamzah* before the 'alif (i.e., *na'ā*).

Al-Kisā'i and Ḥalaf apply 'imālah to the *fathah* of the *nūn* and the *hamzah* in both *sūrahs* (i.e., *na'ē*), but Ḥallād applies 'imālah only to the *hamzah* (i.e., *na'ē*). It has been transmitted from 'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī] like that as well (i.e., *na'ē*).¹⁶¹ 'Abū Bakr applies 'imālah to the *fathah* of the *hamzah* here and pronounces it with a pure vowel there (i.e., Q17:83 *na'ē*, but Q41:51 *na'ā*). The rest read both with *fathah* (i.e., *na'ā*). Warš reads it in accordance with his principle of stem-final *yā'* (i.e., *na'ā*).

90: The Kufans read *ḥattā tafğura* with *fathah* on the *tā'* and *ḍammah* on the *ğim* without gemination. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and *kasrah* on the *ğim* with gemination (i.e., *tufağğira*). There is no disagreement on the second occurrence (Q17:91, all read *fa-tufağğira*).

¹⁵⁹ See F.13:5.

¹⁶⁰ See F.3:163.

¹⁶¹ The passive formulation should probably be understood as implying that it has also been reported differently, indeed *na'ā* is also attributed to al-Sūsī (al-Dānī 2007, 1292).

92: Nāfiʿ, ʿĀṣim and Ibn ʿĀmir read *kisafan* with *fathah* on the *sīn* and the rest without vowel (i.e., *kisfan*).

93: Ibn Kaṭīr and Ibn ʿĀmir read *qāla subhāna rabbī* with ʾalif and the rest read *qul* without ʾalif.

102: Al-Kisāʾī reads *la-qad ʿalimtu* with *ḍammah* on the *tāʾ* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., ʿalimta).

110: The pausing on ʾayyan *mā* is mentioned in its chapter.¹⁶²

F.17.1. [Yāʾ of Q17]

There is one *yāʾ*: it is *raḥmati rabbiya ʾidān* (Q17:100) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿĀmir.

F.17.2. [Removed *yāʾ*s of Q17]

There are two removed ones:

1. *la-ʾin (?) aḥḥartanī ʾilā* (Q17:62) with retention (of the *yāʾ*) in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr, and retention in connected speech by Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿĀmir.^(P:141)
2. *fa-h(u)wa l-muhtadī* (Q17:97) with retention (of the *yāʾ*) in connected speech by Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿĀmir.

F.18. Sūrat al-Kahf

1: Ḥaṣṣ reads ʿiwaḡā, placing a slight silence after the ʾalif, without drawing breath (*qaṭʿ*) and without *tanwīn*, and then he says *qayyiman*.

It is also like that where he used to introduce a silence while intending connected speech on the ʾalif in Yā-Sīn (Q36:52) in the speech of the Almighty *min marqadinā* and then he says *hāḍā*.

Likewise, he introduces silence on the *nūn* in al-Qiyāmah (Q75:27) in His speech *man* and then he says *rāqīn*.

He likewise introduces silence on the *lām* in al-Mutaffifīn (Q83:14) in His speech *bal* and then he says *rāna*. The rest pronounces these in connected speech without silence and they apply assimilation to the *nūn* and *lām* to the *rāʾ* (i.e., ʿiwaḡan, *min marqadinā hāḍā, mar-rāqīn, bar-rā/ēna*).

¹⁶² See U.18.

2: 'Abū Bakr reads *min lad^wnihi* with no vowel on the *dāl*, with a little bit of 'iṣmām of the *ḍammah*, and with *kasrah* on the *nūn* and *hā'* with application of *ṣilah* of *yā'* to the *hā'*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *dāl*, without a vowel on the *nūn* and with *ḍammah* on the *hā'* (i.e., *ladunhu*). Ibn Kaṭīr reads it with *ṣilah* of the *wāw* according to his principle (i.e., *ladunhū*). *yabšuru/yubašširu l-mu'minina* has already been mentioned.¹⁶³

16: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *marfiqan* with *fathah* on the *mīm* and *kasrah* on the *fā'*. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *mīm* and *fathah* on the *fā'* (i.e., *mirfaqan*).

17: Ibn 'Āmir *tazwarru 'an kahfihim* with no vowel on the *zāy* and gemination of the *rā'*. The Kufans read it with *fathah* on the *zāy* without gemination and with an 'alif after it (i.e., *tazāwaru*). The rest read it with gemination of the *zāy* and the retention of the 'alif (*tazzāwaru*).^(P:142)

18: The two of the holy cities read *la-mulli'ta* with gemination of the *lām* and the rest read it without gemination (i.e., *la-muli'/ita*).

ru'(u)ban has already been mentioned.¹⁶⁴

19: 'Abū 'Amr, 'Abū Bakr and Ḥamzah read *bi-warqikum* with no vowel on the *rā'*. The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *bi-wariqikum(ū)*).

26: Ibn 'Āmir reads *wa-lā tušrik* with *tā'* and *ğazm* of the *kāf*. The rest read it with *yā'* and *raq'* of the *kāf* (i.e., *yušriku*).

28: *bi-l-ğadāti/bi-l-ğudwati* has already been mentioned.¹⁶⁵

25: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *ṭalāṭa mi'ati sinīna* without *tanwīn* and the rest with *tanwīn* (i.e., *ṭalāṭa mi'atin sinīna*).

34: 'Āṣim reads *wa-kāna lahū ṭamarun* and *wa-ʾuḥīṭu bi-ṭamarihi* (Q18:42) with *fathah* on both the *ṭā'* and the *mīm*. 'Abū 'Amr reads it with *ḍammah* on the *ṭā'* and without a vowel on the *mīm* (i.e., *ṭumrun, ṭumrihi*). The rest read it with *ḍammah* on both (i.e., *ṭumurun, ṭumurihi*).

36: The two of the holy cities and Ibn 'Āmir read *ḥayran minhumā* with *mīm* as dual and the rest without the *mīm* as singular (i.e., *minhā*).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ See F.3:39.

¹⁶⁴ See F.3:151.

¹⁶⁵ See F.6:52.

¹⁶⁶ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 141).

38: Ibn ‘Āmir reads *lākinnā huwa llāhu* with retention of the ‘*alif* in connected speech and the rest remove it (i.e., *lākinna*). Everyone retains it in pause (i.e., *lākinnā#*).¹⁶⁷

43: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī read *wa-lam yakun lahū* with *yā’* and the rest with *tā’* (i.e., *takun*).

44: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī read *hunālika l-wilāyatu* with *kasrah* on the *wāw* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *al-walāyatu*).

‘Abū ‘Amr and al-Kisā’ī read *li-llāhi l-ḥaqqu* with *rafʿ* and the rest with the *ḡarr* (i.e., *al-ḥaqqi*).

‘Aṣim and Ḥamzah read *wa-ḥayrun ‘uqban* with no vowel on the *qāf* and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *‘uquban*).

45: *taḍrūhu r-riyāhu/r-rīhu* has already been mentioned.^{168 (P:143)}

47: The Kufans and Nāfi‘ read *yawma nusayyiru* with *nūn*, *kasrah* on the *yā’* and *naṣb* of *al-ḡibāla*. The rest read it with *tā’* and *fathah* on the *yā’* and with *rafʿ* of *al-ḡibālu* (i.e., *tusayyaru l-ḡibālu*).

52: Ḥamzah reads *yawma naqūlu* with *nūn* and the rest with *yā’* (i.e., *yaqūlu*).

55: The Kufans read *qubulan* with two *ḍammahs* and the rest read it with *kasrah* on the *qāf* and *fathah* on the *bā’* (i.e., *qibalan*).

59: ‘Abū Bakr reads *li-mahlakihim* and in al-Naml *mahlaka ‘ahlihī* (Q27:49) with *fathah* on the *mīm* and *lām*. Ḥafṣ reads it with *fathah* on the *mīm* and *kasrah* on the *lām* (i.e., *li-mahlakihim* and *mahlaka ‘ahlihī*). The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *mīm* and *fathah* on the *lām* (i.e., *li-muhlakihim(ū)* and *muhlaka ‘ahlihī*).

63: Ḥafṣ reads *wa-mā ‘ansānīhu ‘illā* and in al-Faṭḥ *‘alayhu llāha* (Q48:10) with *ḍammah* on the *hā’* of both in connected speech. The rest read them with *kasrah* (i.e., *‘ansānīhī* and *‘alayhi llāha*).

66: ‘Abū ‘Amr reads *mimmā ‘ullimta raṣadan* with *fathah* on the *rā’* and *sīn*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *rā’* and with no vowel on the *šin* (i.e., *ruṣdan*).

70: Nāfi‘ and Ibn ‘Āmir read *fa-lā tas’alannī* with *fathah* on the *lām* with gemination of the *nūn*. The rest read it with no vowel on the *lām* and no gemination on the *nūn* (i.e., *tas’alnī*).

¹⁶⁷ The *rasm* of this word is ٱ and is understood to be a contraction of *lākin ‘ana*.

¹⁶⁸ See F.2:163.

71: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *li-yağraqa* with a *yā'* that carries a *fathah* and with *fathah* on the *rā'*, and *'ahluhā* with *raf'* of the *lām*. The rest read it with a *tā'* that carries a *ḍammah*, with *kasrah* on the *rā'* and *naṣb* of the *lām* (*li-tuğriqa 'ahlahā*).

74: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *naḥṣan zakīyyatan* with gemination of the *yā'* without *'alif*. The rest read it with *'alif* and without gemination of the *yā'* (i.e., *zākīyatan*).

Nāfi', 'Abū Bakr and Ibn Ḍakwān read *nukuran* in two places, here (Q18:74 and 87) and in al-Ṭalāq (Q65:8), with *ḍammah* on the *kāf*. The rest read it without a vowel (i.e., *nukran*).^(P:144)

76: Nāfi' reads *min ladunī* with *ḍammah* on the *dāl* and with no gemination of the *nūn*. 'Abū Bakr reads it with no vowel of the *dāl*, with *'iṣmām* of the *ḍammah* and with no gemination of the *nūn* (i.e., *lad^wnī*). The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *dāl* and gemination of the *nūn* (i.e., *ladunni*).

77: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *wa-la-taḥiḍta/taḥitta 'alayhī* with no gemination of the *tā'* and *kasrah* on the *ḥā'*. The rest read it with gemination of the *tā'* and *fathah* on the *ḥā'* (i.e., *la-ttaḥaḍta/la-ttaḥatta*).

81: Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr read *'an yubaddilahumā* (here), in al-Taḥrīm *'an yubaddilahū* (Q66:5) and in Nūn wa-l-Qalam¹⁶⁹ *'an yubaddilanā* (Q68:32), in all three places, with gemination. The rest read it without gemination (i.e., *yubdilahumā, yubdilahū, yubdilanā*).

Ibn 'Āmir reads *ruḥuman* with *ḍammah* on the *ḥā'* and the rest read it without vowel (i.e., *ruḥman*).

85: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *fa-'atba'a* (Q17:85), *tumma 'atba'a* (Q17:89) and *tumma 'atba'a* (Q17:92), in all three places, with *'alif al-qat'* and ungeminated *tā'*. The rest read it with *'alif al-waṣl* with geminate *tā'* (i.e., *ittaba'a*).

86: Ibn 'Āmir, 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *fī 'aynin ḥāmiyatīn* with *'alif* without *hamzah* and the rest read it without the *'alif* and with *hamzah* (i.e., *ḥami'atin*).

88: Ḥaṣṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *fa-lahū ḡazā'an il-ḥusnā/ē* with *tanwīn* and *naṣb*. The rest read it with *raf'* and without *tanwīn* (i.e., *ḡazā'u l-ḥusnā/ā*).

93: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥaṣṣ read *bayna s-saddayni* with *fathah* on the *sīn* and the rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *as-suddayni*).

¹⁶⁹ Nūn wa-l-Qalam is an alternative name for al-Qalam (Kandil 1992, 52).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read *yufqihūna* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and *kasrah* on the *qāf*. The rest read it with *fathah* on both (i.e., *yafqahūna*).

94: 'Aṣim reads *'inna ya'ğūğā wa-ma'ğūğā* here and in al-'Anbi'ā' (Q21:96) with *hamzah* on both. The rest read it without *hamzah* (i.e., *yāğūğā wa-māğūğā*).^(P:145)

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read *laka ḥarāğan* here and in al-Mu'minūn (Q23:72) with *'alif* and the rest read it without *'alif* (i.e., *ḥarğan*).

Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū Bakr read *wa-baynahum suddan* with *ḍammah* on the *sīn* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *saddan*).

95: Ibn Kaṭīr *mā makkananī* with two ungeminated *nūns*, the first of which carries a *fathah* and the second a *kasrah*. The rest read it with one geminated *nūn* that carries a *kasrah* (i.e., *makannī*).¹⁷⁰

95–96: 'Abū Bakr reads *radman* // *i'tūnī*, with *kasrah* on the *tanwīn* and a *hamzah* without vowel with the meaning of *mağī'* 'to come' (as opposed to *'ātūnī*, which has the meaning *'i'tā'* 'to give'). When he starts, he places *kasrah* on the *hamzat al-waṣl*, replacing the *hamzah* with no vowel after it with *yā'* (i.e., *#'itūnī*). The rest read it with *hamzat al-qat'* and length after it when starting on it and in connected speech (*fī al-ḥālayn*) (i.e., *'ātūnī*). Warš, in accordance with his general principle, transfers the vowel of the *hamzah* onto the *tanwīn* before it (i.e., *radman ātūnī*).¹⁷¹

96: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and Ibn 'Āmir read *bayna ṣ-ṣudufayni* with two *ḍammahs*, and 'Abū Bakr with *ḍammah* on the *ṣād* and no vowel on the *dāl* (i.e., *aṣ-ṣudfayni*) and the rest read it with two *fathahs* (i.e., *aṣ-ṣadafayni*).

Ḥamzah and 'Abū Bakr, with disagreement in transmission from the latter, read *qāla 'tūnī* with a vowelless *hamzah* after the *lām* with the meaning of *mağī'* 'to come' (as opposed to *'ātūnī*, which has the meaning *'i'tā'* 'to give'). When they start, it is with *kasrah* for the *hamzat al-waṣl* and with replacement of the vowelless *hamzah* with *yā'* (i.e., *#'itūnī*). The rest read it with full pronunciation of the *hamzah* and length after it when starting on it and in connected speech (*fī al-ḥālayn*) (i.e., *'ātūnī*).

97: Ḥamzah reads *fa-mā sṭṭā'ū* with gemination of the *ṭā'* and the rest without gemination (i.e., *iṣṭā'ū*).

¹⁷⁰ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 146).

¹⁷¹ See U.11.4.

98: The Kufans read *ğā'alahū dakkâ'a* with length and *hamzah* and without *tanwīn*. The rest read it with *tanwīn* and without *hamzah* (i.e., *dakkan*).

109: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read *qablu 'an yanfada* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *tanfada*).^(P:146)

F.18.1. [Yā's of Q18]

There are nine *yā's*:

1. *rabbiya 'a'lamu* (Q18:22),
2. *bi-rabbiya 'aḥadan* (Q18:38),
3. *rabbiya 'an yu'/ūtiyani* (Q18:40) and
4. *bi-rabbiya 'aḥadan* (Q18:42) with *fathah* on all four by the two of the holy cities, and 'Abū 'Amr.
5. *ma'īya ṣabran* in three places (Q18:67,
6. 72,
7. 75) with *fathah* by Ḥafṣ.
8. *sa-tağiduniya 'in šā'a llaḥu* (Q18:69) with *fathah* by Nāfi'.
9. *min dūniya 'awliyā'a* (Q18:102) with *fathah* by Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr.

F.18.2. [Removed yā's of Q18]

There are seven removed ones:

1. *al-muhtadī* (Q18:17) with retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech by Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr.
2. *'an yahdiyanī* (Q18:24),
3. *'an yu'/ūtiyanī* (Q18:40) and
4. *'alā 'an tu'allimanī* (Q18:66) with retention (of the *yā'*) in both connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr, and retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech by Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr.
5. *'in taranī 'ana 'aqalla* (Q18:39) with retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr and retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech by Qālūn and 'Abū 'Amr.

6. *mā kunnā nabġi* (Q18:64) with retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr, and retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech by Nāfi', 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i.
7. *fa-lā tas'alanni* (18:70) with removal in connected speech and pause by Ibn Ḍakwān, with disagreement transmitted from al-'Aḥfaṣ from him (Ibn Ḍakwān). The rest retain (the *yā'*) in connected speech and pause, and that is how it is written in the *rasm*.

F.19. Sūrat Maryam (s)

1: 'Abū Bakr and al-Kisā'i read *'imālah* on the *hā'* and *yā'* of *kāf-hē-yē-'ayn-ṣād*. I recited it like that, in the transmission of 'Abū Šu'ayb [as-Sūsī], to ['Abū al-Faṭḥ] Fāris b. 'Aḥmad according to his (as-Sūsī's) recitation. Ibn Kaṭīr and Ḥafṣ read it with *fathah* on both (i.e., *kāf-hā-yā-'ayn-ṣād*). Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah read it with *fathah* on the *hā'* and *'imālah* of the *yā'* (i.e., *kāf-hā-yē-'ayn-ṣād*). 'Abū 'Amr reads with *'imālah* of the *hā'* and a *fathah* on the *yā'* (i.e., *kāf-hē-yā-'ayn-ṣād*).^(P:147) Nāfi' reads the *hā'* and *yā'* in between (*'imālah* and *fathah*) (i.e., *kāf-hā-yā-'ayn-ṣād*).

1–2: The two of the holy cities and 'Āṣim did not assimilate the *dāl* of the (disconnected) letters to the *dāl* (of *dikru* in the next verse) (i.e., *kāf-hā/ē-yā/ē-'ayn-ṣād* // *dikru*). The rest assimilated it (i.e., *kāf-hā/ē-yā/ē-'ayn-ṣād* *dikru*).

2–3: 'Abū Bakr and Ibn 'Āmir read *zakariyyā'a* // *'id nādā* and *yā zakariyyā'u 'innā* (Q19:7) and what is like it with full retention of both *hamzahs*. This has already been mentioned.¹⁷²

6: 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i read *yariṭnī wa-yariṭ* with *ġazm* of the *tā'* of both. The rest read both with *raf'* (i.e., *yariṭunī wa-yariṭu*).

7: *'innā nabšuruka/nubašširuka* and *li-tabšuru/li-tubašširu bihī* (Q19:97) have already been mentioned.¹⁷³

8: Ḥamzah, al-Kisā'i and Ḥafṣ read all cases of *'itiyyan*, *ṣiliyyan* and *ġitiyyan* that occur in this *sūrah* (Q19:8, 68, 69, 70, 72) with *kasrah* on the first root letter. Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i also read *bikiyyan* (Q19:58) with *kasrah* on the *bā'*. The rest read the first root letter of (all of) that with *ḍammah* (i.e., *'utiyyan*, *ṣuliyyan*, *ġutiyyan*, *bukiyyan*).

¹⁷² See U.11.2.

¹⁷³ See F.3:39.

9: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *ḥalaqnāka* with *nūn* and 'alif, and the rest with a *tā'* that carries a *ḍammah* without 'alif (i.e., *ḥalaqtuka*).

19: Warš and 'Abū 'Amr read *li-yahaba* with *yā'* and it was transmitted like that by al-Ḥulwānī from Qālūn.¹⁷⁴ The rest read it with *hamzah* (i.e., *li-'ahaba*).

23: Ḥaḥṣ and Ḥamzah read *wa-kuntu nasyan* with *fathah* on the *nūn* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *nisyan*).

24: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ibn 'Āmir, 'Abū 'Amr and 'Abū Bakr read *man taḥtahā* with *fathah* on the *mīm* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *min taḥtiḥā*).^(P:148)

25: Ḥaḥṣ reads *tusāqit* 'alayki with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and *kasrah* on the *qāf* without gemination of the *sīn*. Ḥamzah reads both (consonants) with *fathah* without gemination (i.e., *tasāqaṭ*). The rest read both (consonants) with *fathah* and gemination (i.e., *tassāqaṭ*).

34: 'Aṣīm and Ibn 'Āmir read *qawla l-ḥaqqi* with *naṣb* of the *lām* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *qawlu l-ḥaqqi*).

36: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *wa-'inna llāha* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *wa-'anna*).

35: *kun fa-yakūna/u*¹⁷⁵ and *yā 'abah/t#*¹⁷⁶ have already been mentioned.

51: The Kufans read *muḥlaṣan* with *fathah* on the *lām* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *muḥliṣan*).

60: *yadhulūna/yudḥalūna l-ḡannata* has already been mentioned.¹⁷⁷

66: Ibn Ḍakwān reads *'idā mā muttu* with a single *hamzah* that carries a *kasrah* as a declarative. Al-Naqqāš, transmitting from al-'Aḥfaš from him (Ibn Ḍakwān), said that it was with two *hamzahs* (i.e., *'a'idā*).¹⁷⁸ The rest read it as an interrogative and they follow in what has preceded in their respective manners (i.e., *'a'idā*, *'ā.idā* etc.).¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ This *'isnād* is not present in the *Taysīr*, but it is present in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 287–89).

¹⁷⁵ See F.2:117.

¹⁷⁶ See U.18.

¹⁷⁷ See F.4:124.

¹⁷⁸ This is the *tilāwah* *'isnād* for Ibn Ḍakwān. Other transmissions (but not the *riwāyah* *'isnād* in the *Taysīr*) report the form that al-Dānī mentions first, as can be seen in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 1344).

¹⁷⁹ See U.11.1.

67: Nāfi‘, ‘Āṣim and Ibn ‘Āmir read *’a-wa-lā yaḍkuru* with no vowel on the *ḍāl* and with *ḍammah* on an ungeminated *kāf*. The rest read both with *fathah* and gemination (i.e., *yaḍḍak-karu*).

72: Al-Kisā’i reads *tumma nunḡi llaḍīna* without gemination and the rest read it with gemination (i.e., *nunaḡḡi*).

73: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *ḥayrun muqāman* with *ḍammah* on the *mīm* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *maqāman*).

74: Qālūn and Ibn Ḍakwān read *’atāṭan wa-riyyan* with gemination of the *yā’* without *hamzah*, and the rest read it with *hamzah* (i.e., *wa-ri’yan*). Ḥamzah pauses in the manner mentioned in his respective section (i.e., *riyyā#*).¹⁸⁰

77: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’i read *mālan wa-wuldan*, *ar-raḥmānu wuldan* (Q19:88), *li-r-raḥmāni wuldan* (Q19:91), *’an yattaḥiḍa wuldan* (Q19:92) and in al-Zuḥruf *li-r-raḥmāni wuldun* (Q43:81) with *ḍammah* on the *wāw* and no vowel on the *lām* in all five cases. The rest read it with *fathahs* on both of these five (i.e., *waladan*, *waladun*).^(P:149)

90: Nāfi‘ and al-Kisā’i read *yakādu s-samāwātu* here and in al-Šūrā (Q42:5) with *yā’* and the rest with *tā’* (i.e., *takādu*).

The two of the holy cities, Ḥafṣ and al-Kisā’i read *yatafaṭṭarna* here with *tā’* and with *fathah* on the geminated *ṭā’*. The rest read it with *nūn* and with *kasrah* on an ungeminated *ṭā’* (i.e., *yanfaṭirna*).

F.19.1. [Yā’s of Q19]

There are six *yā’s*:

1. *min warā’iya wa-kānat* (Q19:5) with *fathah* by Ibn Kaṭīr.
2. *iğ’al liya ’āyatan* (Q19:10) and
3. *laka rabbiya ’innahū* (Q19:47) with *fathah* of both by Nāfi‘ and ’Abū ‘Amr.
4. *’inniya ’a’ūḍu* (Q19:18) and
5. *’inniya ’aḥāfu* (Q19:45) with *fathah* of both by the two of the holy cities and ’Abū ‘Amr.
6. *’ātāni l-kitāba* (Q19:30) with no vowel by Ḥamzah.

¹⁸⁰ See U.11.6.1.

F.20. Sūrat Ṭā-Hā

1: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read with 'imālah of the *fathah* on the *ṭā'* and *hā'* (of *ṭā-hā*) (i.e., *ṭē-hē*). Warš and 'Abū 'Amr only read with 'imālah of the *hā'* (i.e., *ṭā-hē*). The rest read both with *fathah* (i.e., *ṭā-hā*).

10: Ḥamzah reads *li-'ahlihu mkuṭū* here and in al-Qaṣaṣ (Q28:29) with *ḍammah* on the *hā'* in connected speech. The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *li-'ahlihi mkuṭū*).

12: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read 'anniya 'ana rabbuka with *fathah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., 'innī/'inniya 'ana rabbuka).

The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *ṭuwan* here and in al-Nāzi'āt (Q79:16) with *tanwīn* and placing a *kasrah* on there (i.e., on the *n* of the *tanwīn*) due to the (meeting of) two letters that do not carry a vowel (i.e., *ṭuwan idḥab*). The rest read it without *tanwīn* (i.e., *ṭuwā, ṭuwā*).^(P:150)

13: Ḥamzah reads *wa-'annā* with gemination of the *nūn* and *iḥtarnāka* with *nūn* and 'alif. The rest read it without gemination of the *nūn* and with a *tā'* that carries a *ḍammah* without 'alif (i.e., *wa-'ana ḥtartuka*).

30–31: Ibn 'Āmir reads 'aḥī // 'ašdud with 'alif *al-qat'* and *fathah* when starting on it and in connected speech (*fī al-ḥālayn*), and *wa-'uṣrikhu* (Q20:32) with *ḍammah* on the *hamzah*. The rest read it with 'alif *al-waṣl* of the first and when starting on it with *ḍammah*, and with *fathah* on the *hamzah* in the second case (i.e., 'aḥī šdud, #'uṣdud; wa-'aṣrikhū).

53: The Kufans read *mahdan* here and in al-Zuḥruf (Q43:10) with *fathah* on the *mīm* and no vowel on the *hā'*. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *mīm*, *fathah* on the *hā'* and with 'alif after it (i.e., *mihādan*). They did not disagree on what occurs in al-Naba' (Q78:6) (i.e., all read *mihādan*).

58: 'Āṣim, Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah read *makānan suwan* with *ḍammah* on the *sīn*. The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *siwan*).

'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i pause on *su/iwē#* and in al-Qiyāmah on 'an yutraka *sudē#* (Q75:36) with 'imālah. Warš and 'Abū 'Amr (pause on it) according to their principle in between (the two sounds) (i.e., *siwā#, sudā#*). The rest read it with *fathah* in accordance with their principles (i.e., *su/iwā#, sudā#*).

61: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *fa-yuṣḥitakum* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* and the rest read it with *fathah* on both (i.e., *fa-yashatakum(ū)*).

63: Ibn Kaṭīr and Ḥaḥṣ read *qālū* 'in with no vowel on the *nūn* and the rest with gemination (i.e., 'inna).

'Abū 'Amr reads *hādayni* with *yā*¹⁸¹ and the rest with 'alif (i.e., *hāḍān(n)i*).

Ibn Kaṭīr reads it with gemination of the *nūn* (i.e., *hāḍānni*), while the rest read it without gemination (i.e., *hāḍāni*).^(P:151)

64: 'Abū 'Amr reads *fa-ğma'ū* with 'alif al-waṣl and *fathah* on the *mīm*. The rest read it with 'alif al-qaṭ' and *kasrah* on the *mīm* (i.e., *fa-'ağmi'ū*).

66: Ibn Ḍakwān reads *tuḥayyalu* 'ilayhi with *tā*' and the rest with *yā*' (i.e., *yuḥayyalu*).

69: Ibn Ḍakwān reads *talaqqafu mā* with *raf'* of the *fā*' and the rest with *ğazm* (i.e., *talaqqaf*).

The manner of al-Bazzī with the gemination of *tā*' (i.e., *mā ttalaqqaf*) in al-Baqarah,¹⁸² and the manner of Ḥaḥṣ with the lack of vowel on the *lām* and the lack of gemination of the *qāf* (has also preceded) (i.e., *talqaf*).¹⁸³

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *kaydu siḥrin* with *kasrah* on the *sīn* and no vowel on the *ḥā*'. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *sīn* and with 'alif after it, and with *kasrah* on the *ḥā*' (i.e., *sāḥirin*).

71: Qunbul and Ḥaḥṣ read 'āmantum(*ū*) *lahū* as an indicative and the rest as an interrogative (i.e., 'a-'āmantum, 'a-āmantum(*ū*), etc.) and it has already preceded.¹⁸⁴

75: Qālūn, with some disagreement, reads *wa-man ya'tihi mu'minan* with shortened realisation of the *kasrah* on the *hā*' in connected speech. 'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī] reads it with no vowel (i.e., *yātih*) and the rest with full pronunciation (i.e., *ya'/ātihī*).

77: Ḥamzah reads *lā taḥaf darakan* with *ğazm* of the *fā*' and the rest apply *raf'* to it with an 'alif before it (i.e., *lā taḥāfu darakan*).

80: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *qad 'anğaytukum min 'aduwwikum wa-wā'attukum, mā razaqtukum* (Q20:81) with a *tā*' that carries a *ḍammah* on all three words. The rest read it with a *nūn* that carries a *fathah* and with 'alif after it (i.e., 'anğaynākum(*ū*), wa-wā'adnākum(*ū*), mā razaqnākum(*ū*)).

¹⁸¹ 'Abū 'Amr disagrees with the *rasm* هَذَا here.

¹⁸² See F.2:267.

¹⁸³ See F.7:117.

¹⁸⁴ See F.7:123.

81: Al-Kisā'i reads *fa-yaḥulla* 'alaykum with *ḍammah* on the *ḥā'* and *wa-man yaḥlul* with *ḍammah* on the first *lām*. The rest read them with *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* and *lām* (i.e., *yaḥilla*, *yaḥlil*). There is no disagreement regarding the *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* of His speech 'an *yaḥilla* 'alaykum (Q81:86); it is the third word (of this type that occurs).^(P:152)

87: Nāfi' and 'Āsim read *bi-malkinā* with *fathah* on the *mīm*. Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *bi-mulkinā*). The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *bi-milkinā*).

The two of the holy cities, Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥafṣ read *ḥummilnā* with *ḍammah* on the *ḥā'* and *kasrah* on the geminated *mīm*. The rest read it with *fathah* on both and without gemination (i.e., *ḥamalnā*).

94: *ya-bna-ʿumma/i* has already been mentioned.¹⁸⁵

96: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *bi-mā lam tabṣurū* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yabṣurū*).

97: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *lan yuḥlifahū* with *kasrah* on the *lām* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *yuḥlafahū*).

102: 'Abū 'Amr reads *yawma nanfuḥu* with a *nūn* that carries a *fathah* and with *ḍammah* on the *fā'*. The rest read it with a *yā'* that carries a *ḍammah* and with *fathah* on the *fā'* (i.e., *yunfaḥu*).

112: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *fa-lā yaḥaf ḍulman* with *ḡazm* of the *fā'*. The rest read it with *raf'* and with an 'alif before it (i.e., *yaḥāfu*).

119: Nāfi' and 'Abū Bakr read *wa-ʿinnaka lā* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *wa-ʿannaka*).

130: 'Abū Bakr and al-Kisā'i read *la-ʿallaka turḍā/ē* with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *tarḍā/ā/ē*).

133: Nāfi', 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥafṣ read 'a-*wa-lam ta'/ātihim* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *ya'tihim(ū)*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i apply 'imālah to the ends of the verses of this *sūrah*, from His speech *li-taṣqē* (Q20:2) up to the end *wa-man ihtadē* (Q20:135). 'Abū 'Amr applies 'imālah to all of that only for those that have *rā'*, such as *aṭ-ṭarē* (Q20:6), *man iftarē* (Q20:61), *lā ta'rē* (Q20:118) and what is like it. Whatever remains, he pronounces in between (the two sounds) (e.g., *taḍḥā*, Q20:119). Warṣ pronounces all of these in between (i.e., *aṭ-ṭarā*, *man iftarā*,

¹⁸⁵ See F.7:150.

taḍḥā, etc.). The rest pronounces them with a pure *fathah* sound for all (i.e., *aṭ-ṭarā*, *man iftarā*, *taḍḥā*, etc.). That is what we have explained in the chapter on *ʾimālah*.¹⁸⁶ (P:153)

F.20.1. [Yā's of Q20]

Its *yā*'s are 13:

1. *ʾinniya ʾānastu* (Q20:10),
2. *ʾi/anniya ʾana rabbuka* (Q20:12) and
3. *ʾinnaniya ʾana lḷāhu* (Q20:14) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and ʾAbū ʿAmr.
4. *laʿallī ʾātā/ēkum* (Q20:10) with no vowel by the Kufans.
5. *la-ḍikriya // ʾinna* (Q20:14–15),
6. *wa-yassir liya ʾamrī* (Q20:26),
7. *wa-ʿalā ʿayniya // ʾid* (Q20:39–40) and
8. *wa-lā bi-raʾ/āsiya ʾinnī* (Q20:94) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿAmr.
9. *wa-liya fihā* (Q20:18) with *fathah* by Warš and Ḥafṣ.
10. *ʾaḥiya // šdud* (Q20:30–31) with *fathah* by Ibn Kaṭīr and ʾAbū ʿAmr.
11. *li-naḥsī // ḍhab* (Q20:41–42) and
12. *fī ḍikrī // ḍhabā* (Q20:42–43) with no vowel by the Kufans and Ibn ʿĀmir. They drop the (*yā*) from the word here due to the meeting of two unvowelled letters (analysed as |ḍikriy ḍhab|).
13. *lima ḥašartaniya ʾaʿmā/ā* (Q20:125) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities.

F.20.2. [Removed *yā* of Q20]

There is a removed one: *ʾallā tattabiʿanī ʾa-fa-ʿaṣayta* (Q20:93)¹⁸⁷ with retention (of the *yā*) in connected speech and pause, with no vowel by Ibn Kaṭīr. Likewise, with retention (of the *yā*) and no vowel, but only in connected speech by Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿAmr.

¹⁸⁶ See U.13.

¹⁸⁷ Pretzl edition has *الا تبعوني افصيت*. This is incorrect and was corrected by al-Ḍāmin (al-Dānī 2008a, 52).

F.21. Sūrat al-'Anbi'ā'

4: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read *qāla rabbī ya'lamu* with 'alif and the rest without 'alif (i.e., *qul*).

7: *nūḥī/yūḥā/ā/ē 'ilayhu/im(ū)* has already been mentioned.¹⁸⁸

25: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read the second case of *nūḥī 'ilayhi* with *nūn* and with *kasrah* on the *ḥā'*. The rest read it with *yā'* and *fathah* on the *ḥā'* (i.e., *yūḥā/ā*).^(P:154)

30: Ibn Kaṭīr reads 'a-lam tara llaḍīna kafarū without *wāw* after the *hamzah* and the rest with *wāw* (i.e., 'a-wa-lam).¹⁸⁹

45: Ibn 'Āmir reads *wa-lā tusmi'u* with a *tā'* that carries a *ḍammah* and with *kasrah* on the *mīm*, and *aṣ-ṣumma* with *naṣb*. The rest read it with a *yā'* that carries a *fathah* and with *fathah* on the *mīm*, and *aṣ-ṣummu* with *raf'* (i.e., *wa-lā tasma'u ṣ-ṣummu*).

47: Nāfi' reads *miṭqālu ḥabbatin* here and in Luqmān (Q31:16) with *raf'* of the *lām*. The rest read them with *naṣb* (i.e., *miṭqāla*).

48: *wa-ḍiy/'ā'an* has already been mentioned.¹⁹⁰

58: Al-Kisā'ī reads *ḡidāḍan* with *kasrah* on the *ḡīm* and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *ḡudāḍan*).

67: 'uffu/i/a(n) *lakum(ū)*¹⁹¹ and 'ā'/.*immah* (Q67:77)¹⁹² have already been mentioned.

80: Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥafṣ read *li-tuḥṣinakum* with *tā'* and 'Abū Bakr with *nūn* (i.e., *li-nuḥṣinakum*). The rest read it with *yā'* (i.e., *li-yuḥṣinakum(ū)*).

88: Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū Bakr read *nuḡḡi l-mu'minīna* with a single *nūn* and gemination. The rest read it with two *nūns* without gemination (i.e., *nunḡi*).

95: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read *wa-ḥirmun* with *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* and no vowel on the *rā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on both (consonants) and with 'alif after the *rā'* (i.e., *ḥarāmun*).

¹⁸⁸ See F.12:109.

¹⁸⁹ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 146).

¹⁹⁰ See F.6:10.

¹⁹¹ See F.17:23.

¹⁹² See F.9:12.

96: *ʾidā fut(t)iḥat*¹⁹³ and *yaʾ/āğūğu wa-maʾ/āğūğu*¹⁹⁴ have already been mentioned.

104: Ḥafş, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾi read *li-l-kutubi* in the plural and the rest read it in the singular (i.e., *li-l-kitābi*).^(P:155)

105: *fī z-za/ubūri* has already been mentioned.¹⁹⁵

112: Ḥafş reads *qāla rabbī ḥkum* with *ʾalif* and the rest without *ʾalif* (i.e., *qul*).

F.21.1. [Yā's of Q21]

There are four yā's:

1. *man maʿiya* (Q21:24) with *fathah* by Ḥafş.
2. *ʾinniya ʾilāhin* (Q21:29) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿAmr.
3. *massanī d-ḍurru* (Q21:83) and
4. *ʿibādī ṣ-ṣāliḥūna* (Q21:105) with no vowel by ḥamzah.

F.22. Sūrat al-Ḥağğ

2: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾi read *sakrē wa-mā hum bi-sakrē* without *ʾalif*, for both words, in the pattern *faʿlā* and the rest read it with *ʾalif* in the pattern *fuʿālā* (i.e., *sukārā/ā/ē*).

9: *li-yaḍilla/li-yuḍilla* has already been mentioned.¹⁹⁶

15: Warş, ʾAbū ʿAmr and Ibn ʿĀmir read *tumma li-yaqṭaʿ* with *kasrah* on the *lām*.

Warş, Qunbul, ʾAbū ʿAmr and Ibn ʿĀmir read *tumma li-yaqḍū* (Q22:29) with *kasrah* on the *lām*.

Ibn Ḍakwān reads *wa-li-yūfū* (Q22:29) and *wa-li-yaṭṭawwafū* (Q22:29) with *kasrah* on the *lām* of both.

The rest read it with no vowel on the *lām* of all four (i.e., *tumma l-yaqṭaʿ*, *tumma l-yaqḍū*, *wa-l-yūfū/wa-l-yuwaffū*, *wa-l-yaṭṭawwafū*).

19: *hāḍān(n)i* has already been mentioned.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ See F.6:44.

¹⁹⁴ See F.18:94.

¹⁹⁵ See F.4:163.

¹⁹⁶ See F.14:30.

¹⁹⁷ See F.20:63.

23: Nāfi' and 'Aṣim read *lu'lu'an* here and in Fāṭir (Q35:33) with *naṣb*. The rest read it with *ḥafḍ* (i.e., *lu'lu'in*).

'Abū Bakr and 'Abū 'Amr—when the latter softens the *hamzah*—remove the first *hamzah* of *lūlu'un*, *al-lūlu'u* and *lūlu'an/in* in the whole Qur'ān. When Ḥamzah pauses, he softens both *hamzahs* in accordance with his principle (i.e., *lūlū#*, *al-lūlū#*).^(P:156) Hišām softens the second (*hamzah*) of these that are not *naṣb* (in pause), also in accordance with his principle (i.e., *lu'lū#* but *lu'lu'ā#*). The rest fully pronounced both (i.e., *lu'lu'ā#*, etc.).

25: Ḥafṣ reads *li-n-nāsi sawā'an* with *naṣb* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *sawā'un*).

29: 'Abū Bakr reads *wa-l-yuwaffū* with *fathah* on the *wāw* and gemination of the *fā'*. The rest read it with no vowel on the *wāw* and no gemination (i.e., *wa-l(i)-yūfū*).

31: Nāfi' reads *fa-taḥṭṭafuhū* with *fathah* on the *ḥā'* and gemination of the *ṭā'*. The rest read it with no vowel on the *ḥā'* and without gemination of the *ṭā'* (i.e., *fa-taḥṭṭafuhū*).

34: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *mansikan* in two places (here and Q22:67) with *kasrah* on the *sīn*. The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *mansakan*).

38: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *'inna līlāha yadfa'u* with *fathah* on the *yā'* and *fā'*, and with no vowel on the *dāl* and without *'alif*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *yā'*, *fathah* on the *dāl*, with an *'alif* after it and with *kasrah* on the *fā'* (i.e., *yudāfi'u*).

39: Nāfi', 'Aṣim and 'Abū 'Amr read *'uḍina llaḍina* with *ḍammah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *'aḍina*).

Nāfi', Ibn 'Amir and Ḥafṣ read *yuqāṭalūna* with *fathah* on the *tā'* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *yuqāṭilūna*).

40: *wa-lawlā daf'u/di'āfu līlāhi* has already been mentioned.¹⁹⁸

The two of the holy cities read *la-hudimat ṣawāmi'u* with no gemination on the *dāl* and the rest read it with gemination (i.e., *la-huddimat*). The *tā'* was assimilated to the *ṣād* here by Ḥamzah, al-Kisā'i, 'Abū 'Amr and Ibn Ḍakwān (i.e., *la-huddimaṣṣawāmi'u*).

45: 'Abū 'Amr reads *'ahlaktuhā* with a *tā'* that carries a *ḍammah* and the rest read it with a *nūn* that carries a *fathah* with *'alif* after it (i.e., *'ahlaknāhā*).^(P:157)

47: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *mimmā ya'uddūna* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *ta'uddūna*).

¹⁹⁸ See F.2:251.

51: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *mu'ağğizīna* here and in two places in Saba' (Q34:5, 38) with gemination of the *ğim* without 'alif. The rest read it with 'alif without gemination of the *ğim* (i.e., *mu'ağizīna*).

58: *tumma qut(t)ilū*¹⁹⁹ and *mu/adḥalan* (Q22:59)²⁰⁰ have already been mentioned.

62: The two of the holy cities, Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū Bakr read *wa-'inna mā tad'ūna* here and in Luqmān (Q31:30) with *tā'*. The rest read it with *yā'* (i.e., *yad'ūna*).

67: *mansa/ikan* has already been mentioned.²⁰¹

F.22.1. [Yā' of Q22]

There is one *yā'*: *baytiya li-ṭ-ṭā'ifīna* (Q22:26) with *fathah* by Nāfi', Ḥafṣ and Hišām.

F.22.2. [Removed yā's of Q22]

There are two removed ones:

1. *al-bādī wa-man* (Q22:25) with retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr and retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech by Warš and 'Abū 'Amr.
2. *kāna nakīrī* (Q22:44) with retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech whenever it occurs (Q34:45; Q35:26; Q67:18) by Warš.

F.23. Sūrat al-Mu'minūn

8: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *li-'amānatihimū* here and in al-Ma'āriğ (Q70:32) without 'alif as a singular, and the rest read it with 'alif in the plural (i.e., *li-'amānātihim*).

14: 'Abū Bakr and Ibn 'Āmir read '*aḍman* *fa-kasawnà l-'aḍma* with *fathah* on the 'ayn and with no vowel on the *ḍā'* of both words. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the 'ayn, and *fathah* on the *ḍā'* and with 'alif after it (i.e., '*iḍāman*, *al-'iḍāma*).^(P:157)

20: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *saynā'a* with *fathah* on the *sīn* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *sīnā'a*).

Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *tunbitu bi-d-duhn* with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and *kasrah* on the *bā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *tā'* and *ḍammah* on the *bā'* (i.e., *tanbutu*).

¹⁹⁹ See F.3:169.

²⁰⁰ See F.4:31.

²⁰¹ See F.22:34.

21: *na/usqikum(ū)*,²⁰² *min 'ilāhin ġayrihi/ġayruhū* (Q23:23, 32)²⁰³ and *min kulli(n) zawġayni* (Q23:27)²⁰⁴ have already been mentioned.

29: 'Abū Bakr reads *manzilan* with *fathah* on the *mīm* and *kasrah* on the *zāy*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *mīm* and *fathah* on the *zāy* (i.e., *munzalan*).

36: *hayhāt/h# hayhāt/h#* has already been mentioned.²⁰⁵

44: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *tatran* with *tanwīn* and when they pause with 'alif replacing it (i.e., *tatrā#*). The rest read it without *tanwīn* and treat the *rā'* according to their principles (that is, whether they apply 'imālah or not)²⁰⁶ (i.e., *tatrā/ē/ā*).

50: 'ilā *ra/ubwati* has already been mentioned.²⁰⁷

52: The Kufans read *wa-'inna hāḍihī* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *wa-'anna*). Ibn 'Āmir reads it without gemination of the *nūn* (i.e., *wa-'an*) and the rest with gemination (i.e., *wa-'inna/'anna*).

67: Nāfi' reads *tuhġirūna* with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and *kasrah* on the *ġīm*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *tā'* and *ḍammah* on the *ġīm* (i.e. *tahġurūna*).

72: 'am *tas'aluhum(ū) ḥar(ā)ġan* has already been mentioned.²⁰⁸

Ibn 'Āmir reads *fa-ḥarġu rabbika* with no vowel on the *rā'* and without 'alif. The rest read it with *fathah* and 'alif (i.e., *fa-ḥarāġu*).^(P:159)

87, 89: 'Abū 'Amr reads *sa-yaqūlūna l-lāhu* in the two latter phrases with 'alif (*al-waṣl*) and *raf'* of the *hā'*. The rest read it without 'alif (*al-waṣl*), with *kasrah* on the *lām* and with *ġarr* of the *hā'* (i.e., *sa-yaqūlūna li-llāhi*) and there is no disagreement on the first phrase (Q23:85, all read it as *sa-yaqūlūna li-llāhi*).²⁰⁹

92: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ibn 'Āmir, 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥaḥṣ read 'ālimi *l-ġaybi* with *ḥafḍ* of the *mīm* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., 'ālimu *l-ġaybi*).

²⁰² See F.16:66.

²⁰³ See F.7:59.

²⁰⁴ See F.11:40.

²⁰⁵ See U.18.

²⁰⁶ See U.13.

²⁰⁷ See F.2:265.

²⁰⁸ See F.18:94.

²⁰⁹ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 141).

106: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *šaḳāwatunā* with 'alif along with *fathah* on the *šin* and *qāf*. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *šin* with no vowel on the *qāf* without 'alif (i.e., *šiḳwatunā*).

110: Nāfi', Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *suḥriyyan* here and in *Ṣād* (Q38:63) with *ḍammah* on the *sin*. The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *siḥriyyan*), and there is no disagreement in al-Zuḥruf (Q43:32, all read it as *suḥriyyan*).

111: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read 'innahum *hum* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., 'annahum(*ū*)).

112: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *qul kam labiṭṭumū/labittum* without 'alif, and Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *qul 'in labittum* (Q23:114) without 'alif. The rest read both with 'alif (i.e., *qāla*).²¹⁰

115: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *lā tarḡi'ūna* with *fathah* on the *tā'* and *kasrah* on the *ḡim*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and *fathah* on the *ḡim* (i.e., *turḡa'ūna*).

F.23.1. [Yā' of Q23]

There is one *yā'*: *la'allī 'a'malu* (Q23:100) with no vowel by the Kufans.^(P:160)

F.24. Sūrat al-Nūr

1: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *wa-farraḍnāhā* with gemination of the *rā'* and the rest read it without gemination (i.e., *wa-faraḍnāhā*).

2: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *bihimā ra'afatun* here with vocalisation of the *hamzah* and the rest read it without a vowel. There is no disagreement on the one that occurs in al-Ḥadīd (Q57:27, read by all as *ra'/āfatan*).

4: *al-muḥṣa/ināt* has already been mentioned.²¹¹

6: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read 'arba'ū *ṣahādātīn* with *raf'* of the 'ayn at the first attestation, and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., 'arba'a *ṣahādātīn*). There is no disagreement on the second attestation (Q24:8, all read 'arba'a *ṣahādātīn*).

²¹⁰ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 147).

²¹¹ See F.4:24.

9: Ḥaḥṣ reads *wa-l-ḥāmisata* 'anna ḡaḍaba l-lāhi with *naṣb* of the *tā'* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *wa-l-ḥāmisatu*). There is no disagreement on the first occurrence (Q24:7, all read *wa-l-ḥāmisatu*).

Nāfi' reads 'an la'natu l-lāhi (Q24:7) and 'an ḡaḍiba l-lāhu without gemination of the *nūn* of both, with *raf'* of the *tā'*, with *kasrah* on the *dād* of *ḡaḍiba* and *raf'* of the *hā'* of the name of God Almighty. The rest read it with gemination of the *nūn*, *naṣb* of the *tā'*, *fathah* on the *dād* and *ḡarr* of the *hā'* (i.e., 'anna la'nata l-lāhi, 'anna ḡaḍaba l-lāhi).

21: *ḥuṭ(u)wāt* has already been mentioned.²¹²

24: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *yawma yaṣṣadu* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *taṣṣadu*).

31: Nāfi', 'Āṣim, 'Abū 'Amr and Hiṣām read 'alā ḡuyūbihinna with *ḍammah* on the *ḡim* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *ḡiyūbihinna*).

'Abū Bakr and Ibn 'Āmir read *ḡayra 'ulī l-'irbati* with *naṣb* of the *rā'* and the rest with *ḡarr* (i.e., *ḡayri*).

Ibn 'Āmir reads 'ayyuhu l-mu'minūna, in al-Zuḥruf *yā* 'ayyuhu s-sāḥiru (Q43:49) and in al-Raḥmān 'ayyuhu t-taqalāni (Q55:31) with *ḍammah* on the *hā'* in connected speech for all three. The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., 'ayyuha, *yā* 'ayyuha). 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i paused on these as 'ayyuhā# with 'alif.²¹³ The rest paused on it without 'alif (i.e., 'ayyuh#).^(P:161)

34: Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥaḥṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read 'āyātīn mubayyinātīn in two places, here and in al-Ṭalāq (Q65:11), with *kasrah* on the *yā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *mubayyanātīn*).

35: 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i read *durri'un* with *kasrah* on the *dāl* and length and *hamzah*. 'Abū Bakr and Ḥamzah read it with *ḍammah* and *hamzah* (i.e., *durri'un*). When he pauses, Ḥamzah softens the *hamzah* in accordance with his principle (i.e., *durriyy#*).²¹⁴ The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *dāl* and gemination of the *yā'* without *hamzah* (i.e., *durriyyun*).

Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *tawaqqada* with a *tā'* that carries a *fathah*, with *fathah* on the *wāw* and the *dāl*, and with geminated *qāf*. 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read it with

²¹² See F.2:168.

²¹³ This is in conflict with the *rasm* ٱل.

²¹⁴ See U.11.6.

a *tā'* that carries a *ḍammah*, no vowel on the *wāw* and *ḍammah* on the *dāl* without gemination (i.e., *tūqadu*). The rest read it like that too but with *yā'* (i.e., *yūqadu*).

36: Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū Bakr read *yusabbaḥu lahū* with *fathah* on the *bā'*. The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *yusabbiḥu*).

40: Al-Bazzī reads *saḥābu* without *tanwīn* and the rest with *tanwīn* (i.e., *saḥābun*).

Ibn Kaṭīr reads *ḍulumātīn* with *ḥafḍ* and the rest with *rafʿ* (i.e., *ḍulumātun*).

45: *ḥāliq/a kulli dābbatin* has already been mentioned.²¹⁵

52: 'Abū Bakr, 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥallād, with some disagreement, read *wa-yattaqih* with no vowel on the *hā'*. Qālūn reads it with shortened *kasrah* (i.e., *wa-yattaqihi*). The rest read it with *ṣilah*, i.e., *wa-yattaqihi*. Ḥafṣ reads *wa-yattaqhi* with no vowel on the *qāf* and with a shortened *kasrah* on the *hā'*. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *hā'*. In pause, all agree on no vowel of the *hā'* (i.e., *wa-yattaq(i)h#*).^(P:162)

55: 'Abū Bakr reads *kamà stuḥlifa* with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and *kasrah* on the *lām*. When starting (on this word), he reads it with *ḍammah* on the 'alif (i.e., #*'ustuḥlifa*). The rest read it with two *fathahs* (i.e., *kamà staḥlafa*) and, when starting (on this word), with *kasrah* on the 'alif (i.e., #*'istaḥlafa*).

Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū Bakr read *wa-li-yubdilannahum(ū)* and the rest with gemination (i.e., *wa-li-yubaddilannahum*).

57: Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah read *lā yaḥsabanna llaḍīna* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *taḥsa/ibanna*).

58: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read *ṭalāṭa 'awrātin*²¹⁶ with *naṣb* and the rest with *rafʿ* (i.e., *ṭalāṭu*).

61: *'aw bi/uyūtu*²¹⁷ *'i/umma/ihātikum(ū)*²¹⁸ has already been mentioned.

There are no *yā'*s at all.

²¹⁵ See F.4:19.

²¹⁶ Pretzl has مَرَّت here. This is a mistake (al-Dānī 2008a, 55).

²¹⁷ See F.2:189.

²¹⁸ See F.4:11.

F.25. Sūrat al-Furqān

8: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read *na'kulu minhā* with *nūn* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *ya'/ākulu*).

10: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū Bakr read *wa-yağ'alu* with *raf'* of the *lām* and the rest read it with *ğazm* (i.e., *wa-yağ'al*).

13: *ḍi'/yā'a* has already been mentioned.²¹⁹

17: Ibn Kaṭīr and Ḥafṣ read *wa-yawma yaḥṣuruhum(ū)* with *yā'* and the rest with *nūn* (i.e., *naḥṣuruhum*).

Ibn 'Āmir reads *fa-naqūlu 'ā'/.antum* with *nūn* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *fa-yaqūlu*).

19: Ḥafṣ reads *fa-mā tastatī'ūna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yastatī'ūna*).

25: The Kufans and 'Abū 'Amr read *wa-yawma tašaqqaqu* here and in Qāf (Q50:44) without gemination of the *šin*. The rest read it with gemination (i.e., *taššaqqaqu*).^(P:163)

Ibn Kaṭīr reads *nunzilu* with two *nūns*, the second without vowel, without gemination of the *zāy* and with *raf'* of the *lām*, and *al-malā'ikata* with *naṣb*. The rest read it with one *nūn*, gemination of the *zāy* and *fathah* on the *lām*, and with *raf'* of *al-malā'ikatu* (i.e., *nuzzila l-malā'ikatu*).²²⁰

38: *ṭamūda(n)*²²¹ and *ar-riḥ/ar-riyāḥ* (Q25:48),²²² *nuš(u)ran/buṣran* (Q25:48),²²³ *li-yadḍakkarū/li-yadḍkuru* (Q25:50)²²⁴ have already been mentioned before.

60: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read *limā ya'murunā* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *ta'/āmurunā*).

61: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read *fihā suruḡan* with two *ḍammahs*. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *sīn*, *fathah* on the *rā'* and an *'alif* after it (i.e., *sirāḡan*).

²¹⁹ See F.10:6.

²²⁰ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 147).

²²¹ See F.11:68.

²²² See F.2:163.

²²³ See F.7:57.

²²⁴ See F.17:41.

62: Ḥamzah reads *ʿan yaḍkura* with no vowel on the *dāl* and *ḍammah* on the ungeminated *kāf*. The rest read it with both *fathah* and gemination (i.e., *yaḍḍakkara*).

67: Nāfiʿ and Ibn ʿĀmir read *wa-lam yuqtirū* with *ḍammah* on the *yāʾ* and *kasrah* on the *tāʾ*. Ibn ʿĀmir and ʿAbū ʿAmr read it with *fathah* on the *yāʾ* and *kasrah* on the *tāʾ* (i.e., *yaqtirū*). The rest read it with *fathah* on the *yāʾ* and *ḍammah* on the *tāʾ* (i.e., *yaqturū*).

69: Ibn ʿĀmir and ʿAbū Bakr read *yuḍāʿafu/yuḍaʿafu* and *wa-yaḥludu* with *rafʿ* of the *fāʾ* and the *dāl*. The rest read them with *ḡazm* of both (i.e., *yuḍāʿaf/yuḍaʿaf* and *wa-yaḥlud*). Ibn Kaṭīr and Ibn ʿĀmir, in accordance with their general principle, removed the *ʾalif* and applied gemination to the *ʿayn* (i.e., *yuḍaʿaf(u)*).

Ibn Kaṭīr and Ḥafṣ read *fihī muḥānan* with addition of the *yāʾ* to the *hāʾ* (for Ḥafṣ) only here (and Ibn Kaṭīr always does so). The rest read it with a shortened *kasrah* (i.e., *fihī*).

74: The two of the holy cities, Ibn ʿĀmir and Ḥafṣ read *wa-ḍuriyyātīnā* in the plural and the rest read it without *ʾalif*, in the singular (i.e., *wa-ḍuriyyatinā*).^(P:164)

75: ʿAbū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *wa-yalqūna fihā* with *fathah* on the *yāʾ* and no vowel on an ungeminated *lām*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *yāʾ* and *fathah* on a geminated *lām* (i.e., *yulaqqūna*).

F.25.1. [Yāʾs of Q25]

There are two *yāʾ*s:

1. *yā laytaniya ttaḥattu* (Q25:27) with *fathah* by ʿAbū ʿAmr.
2. *ʾinna qawmiya ttaḥadū* (Q25:30) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ, ʿAbū ʿAmr and al-Bazzī.

F.26. Sūrat al-Šuʿarāʾ

1: ʿAbū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *ṭē-sīn-mīm* here and at the beginning of al-Qaṣaṣ (Q28), and *ṭē-sīn* at the beginning of al-Naml (Q27) with *ʾimālah* of the *fathah* of the *tāʾ*. The rest read them with pure pronunciation of the *fathah* (i.e., *ṭā-sīn(-mīm)*).

Ḥamzah does not assimilate the *nūn* of the letter *sīn* to the *mīm* here and in al-Qaṣaṣ (i.e., *ṭē-sīn-mīm*); the rest assimilate it (i.e., *ṭē/ā-sīm-mīm*).

37: 'arġi(?)h(i/u),²²⁵ qāla na'a/im (Q26:42),²²⁶ talqaf/talaqqaf (Q26:45),²²⁷ 'ā/aman-tum(ū) (Q26:49),²²⁸ 'an ('a)sri (Q26:52)²²⁹ and wa-'u/iyūn (Q26:57)²³⁰ have already been mentioned.

56: The Kufans and Ibn Ḍakwān read *ḥaḍīrūna* with 'alif and the rest without 'alif (i.e., *ḥaḍīrūna*).

61: Ḥamzah reads *fa-lammā tarē'ā l-ġam'āni* with 'imālah of the *fathah* of the *rā'* in connected speech. When he pauses, the *hamzah* follows it (the *rā'* in terms of 'imālah), so 'imālah is applied to it and it is turned into a (*hamzah*) *bayna bayn* in accordance with his principle. So, it comes in between two 'alifs that have undergone 'imālah, the first being because of the 'imālah of the *fathah* of the *rā'* and the second because of the 'imālah of the *fathah* of the *hamzah* (i.e., *tarē.ē#*). This is what oral transmission determines, but this is in fact in accordance with his general principles.²³¹ The rest read it with pure pronunciation of the *fathah* on the *rā'* in connected speech (i.e., *tarā'ā l-ġam'āni*).

Al-Kisā'i pauses with 'imālah on the *fathah* on the *hamzah* (i.e., *tarā'ē#*), so he applies 'imālah to the 'alif after it which is a replacement of the *yā'* because of its 'imālah.^(P:165) Warš makes it in between (the two sounds) according to his general principle of the stem-final *yā's* (i.e., *tarā'ā#*). The rest pause on the *fathah* (i.e., *tarā'ā#*).

137: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i read 'illā ḥalqa l-'awwalīna with *fathah* on the *ḥā'* and no vowel on the *lām*. The rest read both (letters) with *ḍammah* (i.e., *ḥuluqa*).

149: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *fāriḥīna* with 'alif and the rest without 'alif (i.e., *fariḥīna*).

176: The two of the holy cities and Ibn 'Āmir read 'aṣḥābu *laykata* here and in Ṣād (Q38:13) with a *lām* that carries a *fathah*, no *hamzah* after it, no 'alif (*al-waṣl*) before it and

²²⁵ See F.7:111.

²²⁶ See F.7:44.

²²⁷ See F.7:117.

²²⁸ See F.7:123.

²²⁹ See F.11:81.

²³⁰ See F.15:45.

²³¹ See U.11.6.

fathah on the *tā'*. The rest read it with *'alif* (*al-waṣl*), *lām* with *hamzah* and *ḥafḍ* of the *tā'* (i.e., *'aṣḥābu l-(')aykati*).

The one that occurs in al-Ḥiğr (Q15:78) and in Qāf (Q50:14) are read with a unanimous interpretation (i.e., as *'aṣḥābu l-'aykati*),²³² with the exception that Warṣ transposes the vowel of the *hamzah* of both onto the *lām* in accordance with his general principle (i.e., *'aṣḥābu ḷaykati*).²³³

182: *bi-l-qu/istāsi* has already been mentioned.²³⁴

187: Ḥafṣ reads *kasafan* here and in Saba' (Q34:9) with *fathah* on the *sīn* and the rest without a vowel (i.e., *kasfan*).

193: Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥamzah, 'Abū Bakr and al-Kisā'i read *nazzala bihi* with gemination of the *zāy* and *ar-rūḥa l-'amīna* with *naṣb* of both (words). The rest read it without gemination of the *zāy* and with *raf'* (i.e., *nazala bihi r-rūḥu l-(')amīnu*).

197: Ibn 'Āmir reads *'a-wa-lam takun* with *tā'* and *lahum 'āyatun* with *raf'*. The rest read it with *yā'* and *naṣb* (i.e., *'a-wa-lam yakun lahum(ū) 'āyatan*).^(P:166)

217: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *fa-tawakkal* with *fā'* and the rest with *wāw* (i.e., *wa-tawakkal*).²³⁵

224: *yatba'uhumu/yattabi'uhumu l-gāwūna* has already been mentioned.²³⁶

F.26.1. [Yā's of Q26]

There are 13 *yā's*:

1. *'inniya 'aḥāfu* (Q26:12),
2. *'inniya 'aḥāfu* (Q26:135) and
3. *rabbiya 'a'lamu* (Q26:188) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr.

²³² The difference between these two pairs of verses stems from a difference in the *rasm*. Q26:176 and Q38:13 are spelled *أَصْحَابُ الْيَمِينِ* whereas the ones at Q15:78 and Q50:14 are spelled *أَصْحَابُ الْإِيمَةِ*. In the latter case, then, it is not possible to read the *lām* as anything other than being part of the definite article.

²³³ See U.11.4.

²³⁴ See F.17:35.

²³⁵ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 141).

²³⁶ See F.7:193.

4. *bi-ʿibādiya ʾinnakum* (Q26:52) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ.
5. *ʾinna maʿiya rabbī* (Q26:62) with *fathah* by Ḥafṣ.
6. *liya ʾillā rabba* (Q26:77) and
7. *li-ʾabiya ʾinnahū* (Q26:86) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿAmr.
8. *wa-man maʿiya* (Q26:118) with *fathah* by Warṣ and Ḥafṣ.
9. *ʾin ʾağriya ʾillā* in five places (Q26:109;
10. Q26:127;
11. Q26:145;
12. Q26:164;
13. Q26:180) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿĀmir, ʾAbū ʿAmr and Ḥafṣ.

F.27. Sūrat al-Naml

7: The Kufans read *bi-šihābin* with *tanwīn* and the rest without *tanwīn* (i.e., *bi-šihābi*).

21: Ibn Kaṭīr reads ʾaw *la-yaʾtiyannanī* with two *nūns*, the first with *fathah* and gemination. The rest read it with a single geminated *nūn* carrying a *kasrah* (i.e., *la-yaʾ/ātiyannī*).²³⁷

22: ʿĀṣim reads *fa-makata* with *fathah* on the *kāf* and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *fa-makuta*).

Al-Bazzī and ʾAbū ʿAmr read *min sabaʾa* here and in *Sabaʾ* (Q34:15) with *fathah* on the *hamzah* of both without *tanwīn*. Qunbul reads it with no vowel on both as if intending it to be in pause (i.e., *min sabaʾ*). The rest read it with *ḥafḍ* of both and with *tanwīn* (i.e., *min sabaʾin*).

25: Al-Kisāʾī reads ʾa-lā yā *sğudū* without gemination of the *lām*, he pauses on it as ʾa-lā yā# and starts on #ʾusğudū as an imperative. It is (to be parsed as) ʾa-lā yā ʾayyuhā n-nāsu *sğudū* “verily! O people, prostrate!” The rest read it with gemination of the *lām* because of the assimilation of the *nūn* (i.e., ʾallā parsed as ʾan-lā) and they pause on it as a single word (i.e., ʾallā yasğudū#).^(P:167)

Ḥafṣ and al-Kisāʾī read *mā tuḥfūna wa-mā tuʿlinūna* with *tāʾ* on both and the rest with *yāʾ* (i.e., *yuhfūna, yuʿlinūna*).

²³⁷ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 147).

28: Āṣim, ʾAbū ʿAmr and Ḥamzah read *fa-ʾalqih ʾilayhi/um* with no vowel on the *hāʾ* and Qālūn with short vowel in connected speech (i.e., *fa-ʾalqihi*). The rest pronounce it fully (i.e., *fa-ʾalqihi*).

40: ʾana ʾā/ētika bihi has already been mentioned.²³⁸

44: Qunbul reads ʿan saʾqayhā, in Ṣād bi-suʾūqin/bi-suʾqin (Q38:33) and in al-Faṭḥ ʿalā suʾūqihi/suʾqihi (Q48:29) with *hamzah*, for all three places. The rest read it without *hamzah* (i.e., *sāqayhā, sūqin, sūqihi*).²³⁹

49: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾi read *la-tubbayyitunnahū* and *ṭumma la-taqūlunna* with *tāʾ* on both, *ḍammah* on the second *tāʾ* [of the first word],²⁴⁰ and *ḍammah* on the second *lām* of the second word. The rest read them with *nūn* and with *fathah* on the *tāʾ* and *lām* (i.e., *la-tubay-yitannahū, ṭumma la-taqūlanna*).

mahlīka/muhlak ʾahlihi has already been mentioned.²⁴¹

51: The Kufans read ʾannā dammarnāhum with *fathah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., ʾinnā).

57: *qad(d)arnāhā* has already been mentioned.²⁴²

59: Āṣim and ʾAbū ʿAmr read *ḥayrun ʾammā yušrikūna* with *yāʾ* and the rest with *tāʾ* (i.e., *tušrikūna*).

62: ʾAbū ʿAmr and Hišām read *qalīlan mā yaḍḍakkarūna* and the rest with *tāʾ* (i.e., *taḍḍakkarūna*).

²³⁸ See U.13.3.

²³⁹ Al-Dānī's description is ambiguous as to whether the plural form should be read *suʾq* or *suʾūq*. Both opinions are known. Ibn al-Ġazarī (2018, §3810) presents the first option first, but also mentions that al-Šāṭibī (who wrote the famous didactic poem based on the *Taysīr*) transmitted *suʾūq*. Indeed, on checking the *Šāṭibiyyah*, both options are mentioned: *maʿa s-sūqi sāqayhā wa-sūqi hmizū Zakā. wa-waḡhun bi-hamzin baʿdahu l-wāwu wukkilā* "With *as-sūqi sāqayhā* and *sūqi*, apply *hamzah* to it (when reading as) *zāy* (i.e., Qunbul). An option with *hamzah* and a *wāw* after it has been accepted." (al-Šāṭibī 2010, line 938).

²⁴⁰ This emendation is present in one of the manuscripts of Pretzl's edition and listed in the footnotes. The text as printed in the main text is clearly inferior.

²⁴¹ See F.18:59.

²⁴² See F.15:60.

66: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *bal 'adraka* with 'alif al-qat', with no vowel on the *dāl* and without 'alif. The rest read it with 'alif al-waṣl, gemination of the *dāl* and an 'alif after it (i.e., *iddāraka*).^(P:168)

67: Nāfi' reads *'iḏā kunnā turāban* with a *hamzah* that carries a *kasrah* as a declarative. The rest read it as an interrogative (i.e., 'a'iḏā etc.), and they follow their methods which have already been mentioned.²⁴³

Ibn Kaṭīr and al-Kisā'i read *'innanā la-muḥrağūna* with two *nūns* as a declarative, and the rest read it with one (*nūn*) as an interrogative (i.e., 'a'innā, etc.).²⁴⁴ They follow their methods which have already been mentioned.²⁴⁵

63: *ar-riḥ/ar-riyāḥ*,²⁴⁶ *nuṣ(u)ran/buṣran*²⁴⁷ and *fī ḍayyiqin/ḍayqin* (Q27:70)²⁴⁸ have already been mentioned.

80: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *wa-lā yasma'u* with a *yā'* that carries a *fathah*, with *fathah* on the *mīm* and with *raf'* of *aṣ-ṣummu*; it is like that in al-Rūm as well (Q30:25). The rest read it with a *tā'* that carries a *ḍammah*, with *kasrah* on the *mīm* (i.e., *tusmi'u*) and *aṣ-ṣumma* with *naṣb*.

81: Ḥamzah reads *wa-mā 'anta tahdī* with a *tā'* that carries a *fathah* and no vowel on the *hā'* in two *sūrahs*, here and in al-Rūm (Q30:52), and *al-ʿumya* with *naṣb*. When he pauses, he retains the *yā'* of both (i.e., *tahdī#* here and in al-Rūm). The rest read it with a *bā'* that carries a *kasrah*, with *fathah* on the *hā'*, with an 'alif after it and *al-ʿumyi* with *ḥafḍ* (i.e., *bi-hādī l-ʿumyi*). They pause on it here with a *yā'* (i.e., *bi-hādī#*) and in al-Rūm without *yā'*, following the *muṣḥaf* (i.e., *bi-hād#*),²⁴⁹ except for al-Kisā'i who pauses on both with a *yā'* (*bi-hādī#* here and in al-Rūm).

²⁴³ See U.11.1.

²⁴⁴ This reading is related to the ambiguity of the undotted *rasm* انا which can Ibn Kaṭīr and al-Kisā'i read as انا and the rest as انا.

²⁴⁵ See U.11.1.

²⁴⁶ See F.2:163.

²⁴⁷ See F.7:57.

²⁴⁸ See F.6:125.

²⁴⁹ The 'Uṣmānic *rasm* writes Q27:81 as مهدى العمى and Q30:52 as مهد العمى, which gives rise to a difference in pausal rules, following the *rasm*.

82: The Kufans read *ʾanna n-nāsa* with *faṭḥah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *ʾinna*).

87: Ḥafṣ and Ḥamzah read *wa-kullun ʾatawhu* with shortness of the *hamzah* and with *faṭḥah* on the *tāʾ*. The rest read it with length of the *hamzah* and with *ḍammah* on the *tāʾ* (i.e., *ʾātūhū*).

88: Ibn Kaṭīr, ʾAbū ʿAmr and Hišām read *ḥabīrun bi-mā yafʿalūna* and the rest read it with *tāʾ* (i.e., *tafʿalūna*).^(P:169)

89: The Kufans read *min fazaʿin* with *tanwīn* and the rest without *tanwīn* (i.e., *fazaʿi*).

The Kufans and Nāfiʿ read *yawmaʿidīn* with *faṭḥah* on the *mīm* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *yawmiʿidīn*).

93: *ʾammā y/taʿmalūna* has already been mentioned.²⁵⁰

F.27.1. [Yāʾs of Q27]

There are five *yāʾ*s:

1. *ʾinniya ʾānastu* (Q27:7) with *faṭḥah* by the two of the holy cities and ʾAbū ʿAmr.
2. *ʾawziʿniya ʾan ʾaškura* (Q27:19) with *faṭḥah* by Warš and al-Bazzī.
3. *mā liya lā ʾarāʿē* (Q27:20) with *faṭḥah* by Ibn Kaṭīr, ʿĀšim, al-Kisāʿi and Hišām.
4. *ʾinniya ʾulqiya* (Q27:29) and
5. *li-yabluwaniya ʾā(-a)škuru* (Q27:40) with *faṭḥah* on both by Nāfiʿ.

F.27.2. [Removed yāʾs of Q27]

There are two removed ones.²⁵¹

1. *ʾattumiddūnnī bi-mālin* (Q27:36): Ḥamzah reads it with a single geminated *nūn* and the rest with two clear *nūns* (*ʾattumiddūnanī*), with the retention of the *yāʾ* in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr and Ḥamzah. Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿAmr retain it in connected speech only.
2. *fa-mā ʾātāniya llāhu* (Q27:36) with retention (of the *yāʾ*) carrying a *faṭḥah* in connected speech and no vowel in pause (i.e., *ʾātānī#*) by Qālūn, Ḥafṣ and ʾAbū ʿAmr,

²⁵⁰ See F.11:123.

²⁵¹ Sic, although al-Dānī mentions three cases.

with some disagreement for all of them, and by that I mean in pause (i.e., some authorities stipulate 'ātān# in pause).²⁵² It is with *fathah* in connected speech but removal in pause by Warš (i.e., 'ātāniya llāhu but 'ātān#). The rest remove the yā' in connected speech and pause (i.e., 'ātānī llāhu and 'ātān#).

3. Al-Kisā'i read *wādi n-namli* with yā' in pause (i.e., *wādi#*) and the rest without yā' (*wād#*). This has already been mentioned previously.²⁵³

F.28. Sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ

6: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-yarē fir'awnu wa-hāmānu wa-ḡunūduhumā* with a yā' that carries a *fathah*, with *fathah* on the *rā'*, with 'imālah of that *fathah* and *raf'* of the three nouns (that follow). The rest read it with a *nūn* that carries a *ḍammah*, with *kasrah* of the *rā'*, *fathah* on the yā' and after it *naṣb* of the three nouns (i.e., *wa-nuriya fir'awna wa-hāmāna wa-ḡunūdahumā*).^(P:170)

8: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read 'aduwwan ḡuznan with *ḍammah* on the ḡā' and no vowel on the zāy. The rest read it with *fathah* on both (i.e., ḡazanan).

23: Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū 'Amr read *ḡattā yaṣḡura*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the yā' and *kasrah* on the dāl (i.e., yuṣ/ḡdira).

26: yā 'abat/h#,²⁵⁴ *hātayn(n)i 'alā 'an* (Q28:27)²⁵⁵ and *li-'ahlihu/i mkuṭū*²⁵⁶ have already been mentioned.

29: 'Āṣim reads 'aw ḡaḡwatin with *fathah* on the ḡīm, Ḥamzah with *ḍammah* (i.e., ḡuḡwatin) and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., ḡiḡwatin).

32: Ḥafṣ reads *min ar-rahbi* with *fathah* on the *rā'* and no vowel on the *hā'*. The two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr read it with *fathah* on both (i.e., *ar-rahabi*). The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *rā'* and no vowel on the *hā'* (i.e., *ar-ruhbi*).

Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *fa-dānnika* with gemination of the *nūn* and the rest without gemination (i.e., *fa-dānika*).

²⁵² This reading is more in line with the *rasm* اتان.

²⁵³ See U.18.

²⁵⁴ See F.12:4.

²⁵⁵ See F.4:16.

²⁵⁶ See F.20:10.

34: Nāfiʿ reads *maʿi ridan* with *fathah* on the *dāl* without *hamzah*. The rest read it with no vowel on the *dāl* and with *hamzah* (i.e., *ridʿan*). Ḥamzah reads it in accordance with his manner in pause (i.e., *ridʿan* but *ridā#*).²⁵⁷

ʿĀṣim and Ḥamzah read *yuṣaddiqunī* with *rafʿ* of the *qāf* and the rest with *ğazm* (i.e., *yuṣaddiqnī*).

37: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *qāla mūsā* without *wāw* and the rest *wa-qāla* with *wāw*.²⁵⁸
wa-man y/takūnu lahū has already been mentioned.²⁵⁹

39: Nāfiʿ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *ʾilaynā lā yarġīʿūna* with *fathah* on the *yāʾ* and *kasrah* on the *ġīm*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *yāʾ* and *fathah* on the *ġīm*.^(P:171)

48: The Kufans read *qālū siḥrānī* with *kasrah* on the *sīn* and no vowel on the *ḥāʾ*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *sīn* with an *ʾalif* after it and with *kasrah* on the *ḥāʾ* (i.e., *sāḥirānī*).

57: Nāfiʿ reads *tuġbā/ā ʾilayhi* with *tāʾ* and the rest with *yāʾ* (i.e., *yuġbā/ē*).

59: *fī ʾu/immihā rasūlan* has already been mentioned.²⁶⁰

60: ʾAbū ʿAmr reads *ʾa-fa-lā yaʿqilūna* with *yāʾ* and the rest with *tāʾ* (i.e., *taʿqilūna*).

61: *tumma h(u)wa*²⁶¹ and *bi-ḍiy/ʾāʾin* (Q28:71)²⁶² have already been mentioned.

82: (The manner of) pausing on *waykaʾanna llāha* and *waykaʾannahū* have also been mentioned in its (proper) chapter.²⁶³

Ḥafṣ reads *la-ḥasafa binā* with *fathah* on the *ḥāʾ* and *sīn*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *ḥāʾ* and *kasrah* on the *sīn* (i.e., *la-ḥusifa*).

F.28.1. [Yāʾs of Q28]

There are 12 *yāʾ*s:

1. *rabbīya ʾan yahdiyanī* (Q28:22),
2. *ʾinniya ʾānastu* (Q28:29),

²⁵⁷ See U.11.6.1.

²⁵⁸ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 147).

²⁵⁹ See F.6:135.

²⁶⁰ See F.4:11.

²⁶¹ See F.2:29.

²⁶² See F.6:10.

²⁶³ See U.18.

3. 'inniya 'ana lḷāhu (Q28:30),
4. 'inniya 'aḥāfu (Q28:34),
5. rabbiya 'a'lamu (Q28:37),
6. 'indiya 'a-wa-lam (Q28:78) and
7. rabbiya 'a'lamu (Q28:85) with *fathah* for all by the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr. 'Abū Rabī'ah transmitted from Qunbul²⁶⁴ and from al-Bazzī that only 'indī was without vowel (on the yā').
8. 'inniya 'urīdu (Q28:27) and
9. sa-taḡiduniya 'in šā'a lḷāhu (Q28:27) with *fathah* on both by Nāfi'.
10. la'allī 'ātā/ēkum and
11. la'allī 'aṭṭali'u with no vowel on both by the Kufans.
12. ma'īya rid'an with *fathah* by Ḥafṣ.

F.28.2. [Removed yā' of Q28]

There is a removed one: 'an yukaddibūnī qāla (Q28:34) with retention (of the yā') in connected speech by Warš.^(P:172)

F.29. Sūrat al-'Ankabūt

19: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read 'a-wa-lam taraw kayfa with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yaraw*).

20:²⁶⁵ Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *an-našā'ata* here, in al-Naḡm (Q53:48) and al-Wāqī'ah (Q56:62) with *fathah* on the *šin* and 'alif after it. The rest read it with no vowel on the *šin* and without 'alif (i.e., *an-našā'ata*).

Ḥamzah pauses on this word in two manners. The first of these is that he transfers the vowel of the *hamzah* onto the *šin* and then drops it by analogy (i.e., *an-našah*#). The second

²⁶⁴ For al-Bazzī this is the 'isnād mentioned in the U.4.2., but for Qunbul it is not. This 'isnād is mentioned in the Ḡāmi' al-bayān (al-Dānī 2007, 306).

²⁶⁵ This number is missing in the Pretzl edition.

option is that he places *fathah* on the *šin* and replaces the *hamzah* with an *ʿalif* following the written text (i.e., *an-našāh#*).²⁶⁶ It has been heard similarly among the Arabs.

25: Ibn Kaṭīr, ʿAbū ʿAmr and al-Kisāʿī read *mawaddatu* with *rafʿ* without *tanwīn* and *baynikum(ū)* with *ḥafḍ*. Ḥaṣṣ and Ḥamzah read it with *naṣb* without *tanwīn* and *baynikum* with *ḥafḍ* (i.e., *mawaddata baynikum*). The rest read it with *naṣb* and *tanwīn*, and *baynakum(ū)* with *fathah* (i.e., *mawaddatan baynakum(ū)*).

28: The two of the holy cities, Ibn ʿĀmir and Ḥaṣṣ read *ʾinnakum(ū) la-taʿtūna* with the first *hamzah* carrying a *kasrah* as a declarative and the rest as an interrogative (i.e., *ʾa-ʾinnakum*, etc.). They all agreed on the interrogative of the second one (i.e., *ʾa-ʾinnakum(ū)* at Q29:29) and they followed their general principles for these two words as has been mentioned in Sūrat al-Raʿd.²⁶⁷

32: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʿī read *la-nunḡiyannahū* without gemination. Ibn Kaṭīr, ʿAbū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʿī read *ʾinnā munḡūka* (Q29:33) without gemination. The rest read both with gemination (i.e., *la-nunaḡḡiyannahū* and *munaḡḡūka*).

33: *sī/ūʾa bihim*,²⁶⁸ *ʾinnā mun(a)z(z)ilūna* (Q29:34)²⁶⁹ and *wa-ṭamūda(n)* (Q29:38)²⁷⁰ have already been mentioned.^(P:173)

42: ʿĀṣim and ʿAbū ʿAmr read *mā yadʿūna* with *yāʾ* and the rest with *tāʾ* (i.e., *tadʿūna*).

50: Ibn Kaṭīr, ʿAbū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʿī read *ʾāyatun min rabbihī* in the singular and the rest in the plural (i.e., *ʾāyātun*).

55: The Kufans and Nāfiʿ read *wa-yaqūlu dūqū* with *yāʾ* and the rest with *nūn* (i.e., *naqūlu*).

57: ʿAbū Bakr reads *ʾilaynā yurḡaʿūna* with *yāʾ* and the rest with *tāʾ* (i.e., *turḡaʿūna*).

²⁶⁶ The *rasm* of this word is الساه. This is an orthographic exception to the rule that post-consonantal *hamzah* is not written if one reads it as *an-našʿah*. Ḥamzah’s second option for the pausal reading follows the *rasm* in pause.

²⁶⁷ See F.13:5.

²⁶⁸ See F.11:77.

²⁶⁹ See F.3:124.

²⁷⁰ See F.11:68.

58: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *la-nuṭwiyyannahum* with a *tā'* that does not carry a vowel and without *hamzah*. The rest read it with a *bā'* that carries a *fathah* and with *hamzah* (i.e., *la-nubawwi'annahum(ū)*).

66: Ibn Kaṭīr, Qālūn, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-l-yatamatta'ū* with no vowel on the *lām* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *wa-li-yatamatta'ū*).

F.29.1. [Yā's of Q29]

There are three *yā'*s:

1. *'ilā rabbiya 'innahū* (Q29:26) with *fathah* by Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr.
2. *yā 'ibādi llaḍīna* (Q29:56) with removal (of the *yā'*) by 'Abū 'Amr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i in connected speech because it is a vocative. But the rule in their speech is to follow what is written when pausing, therefore retention (of the *yā'*) with no vowel as it is added in all *muṣḥafs* (i.e., *yā 'ibādi#*).²⁷¹ The rest apply the *fathah* in connected speech and retained the *yā'* with no vowel in pause (i.e., *yā 'ibādiya llaḍīna*, *yā 'ibādi#*).
3. *'inna 'arḍiya wāṣi'atun* (Q29:56) with *fathah* by Ibn 'Āmir.

F.30. Sūrat al-Rūm

10: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *ṭumma kāna 'āqibata llaḍīna* with *naṣb* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *'āqibatu*).^(P:174)

11: 'Abū Bakr and 'Abū 'Amr read *ṭumma 'ilayhi yurḡa'ūna* with *yā'*, and the rest read it with *tā'* (i.e., *turḡa'ūna*).

19: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-ka-ḍālika taḥruḡūna* and in al-Ġāṭiyah (Q45:35) *fa-l-yawma lā yaḥruḡūna minhā* with *fathah* on the *tā'* here and the *yā'* there, and with *ḍammah* on the *rā'*. Al-Naqqāš, transmitting from al-'Aḥfaš, said it was like that too but only for the variant here. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and *tā'*, and with *fathah* on the *rā'* (i.e., *tuḥraḡūna*, *yuhraḡūna*). There is no disagreement on the second occurrence of this word in this *sūrah* (Q30:25, all read *taḥruḡūna*).

22: Ḥaḥṣ reads *li-l-'ālimīna* with *kasrah* on the *lām* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *li-l-'ālamīna*).

²⁷¹ The word is spelled *بَعَادَى الدِّس* in the *rasm*, different from, say, Q39:10 where it is spelled *بَعَاد الدِّس*.

32: *fāraqū/farraqu*,²⁷² *yaqni/uṭūna* (Q30:36),²⁷³ and *wa-mā ʾāṭaytum(ū) min rabban* (Q30:39)²⁷⁴ have already been mentioned.

39: Nāfiʿ reads *li-turbū* with a *tāʾ* that carries a *ḍammah* and without vowel on the *wāw*. The rest read it with a *yāʾ* that carries a *fathah* and with *naṣb* of the *wāw* (i.e., *yarbuwa*).

40: *ʾammā t/yaṣṣrikūna* has already been mentioned.²⁷⁵

41: Qunbul reads *li-nuḍiqahumū* with *nūn* and the rest with *yāʾ* (i.e., *li-yuḍiqahum(ū)*).

48: *yursilu r-rīḥa/r-riyāḥa* has already been mentioned.²⁷⁶

Ibn ʿĀmir, with some disagreement in the transmission of Hišām, reads *kasfan* with no vowel on the *sīn*, and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *kasafan*).

50: Ibn ʿĀmir, Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *ʾilā ʾāṭāri* with *ʾalif* as a plural, and the rest read it without *ʾalif* as a singular (i.e., *ʾaṭārī*).

52: *wa-lā yusmiʿu/tasmaʿu ṣ-ṣumma*²⁷⁷ and *wa-mā ʾanti yahdi/bi-hādi l-ʿumya/i*²⁷⁸ have already been mentioned.

54: ʾAbū Bakr and Ḥamzah read *min ḍaʿfin* in all three cases (in this verse) with *fathah* on the *ḍād* (i.e., *ḍaʿfin*, *ḍaʿfin*, *ḍaʿfan*).

This is likewise transmitted by Ḥafṣ transmitting from ʿĀṣim for these, except that he abandoned this practice and chose the *ḍammah* instead, following a report that al-Fuḍayl b. Marzūq reported from ʿAṭiyyah al-ʿAwfī from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar that the Prophet (s) taught to recite that with *ḍammah*, and he recited it back to him with *fath* and (the Prophet) rejected it. But ʿAṭiyyah is regarded as weak. What Ḥafṣ transmitting from ʿĀṣim transmitted from his teachers (*ḍaʿfin*, etc.) is sounder. I adopt both options in his transmission in order to follow ʿĀṣim in his reading and to agree with Ḥafṣ in his preference. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *ḍād* of all three (i.e., *ḍuʿfin*, *ḍuʿfin*, *ḍuʿfan*).^(P:175)

²⁷² See F.6:159.

²⁷³ See F.15:56.

²⁷⁴ See F.2:233.

²⁷⁵ See F.10:18.

²⁷⁶ See F.2:163.

²⁷⁷ See F.21:45.

²⁷⁸ See F.27:81.

57: The Kufans read here *lā yanfa'u llaḏīna* with a *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *tanfa'u*). There are no *yā'*s at all.

F.31. Sūrat Luqmān (s)

3: Ḥamzah reads *hudan wa-raḥmatun* with *raf'* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *raḥmatan*).

6: *li-yaḏilla/li-yuḏilla*²⁷⁹ and *fī 'uḏ(u)nayhi*²⁸⁰ have already been mentioned.

Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-yattaḥiduhā* with *naṣb* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *wa-yattaḥiduhā*).

13: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *yā bunay lā tušrik* with no vowel on the *yā'*, and that is (only) for the first attestation (in this *sūrah*). Qunbul reads *yā bunay 'aqim iṣ-ṣalāta* (Q31:17) with no vowel on the *yā'* and that is the last one. Ḥafṣ reads both of these and the middle one (Q31:16) with *fathah* on the *yā'* (i.e., *yā bunayya*), and al-Bazzī does similarly for the last one.²⁸¹ The rest read all three with *kasrah* on the *yā'* (i.e., *yā bunayyi*).

16: *miṭqālu ḥibbatin* has already been mentioned.²⁸²

18: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Aṣim and Ibn 'Āmir read *wa-lā tuṣa'ir ḥaddaka* with gemination of the 'ayn and without 'alif. The rest read it with 'alif and without gemination of the 'ayn (i.e., *tuṣā'ir*).^(P:176)

20: Nāfi', 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥafṣ read *'alaykum ni'amahū* in the plural and with a masculine (pronoun). The rest read it in the singular and feminine (i.e., *ni'matan*).

27: 'Abū 'Amr reads *wa-l-baḥra yamudduhū* with *naṣb* of the *rā'* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *wa-l-baḥru*).

30: *wa-'anna mā y/tad'ūna* has already been mentioned.²⁸³

²⁷⁹ See F.14:30.

²⁸⁰ See F.5:45.

²⁸¹ Al-Bazzī thus has three different pronunciations for the three:: *yā bunay* (Q31:13), *yā bunayyi* (Q31:16) and *yā bunayya* (Q31:17).

²⁸² See F.21:47.

²⁸³ See F.22:62.

34: Nāfiʿ, ʿĀṣim and Ibn ʿĀmir read *yunazzilu l-ğayṭa* here and in al-Šūrā (Q42:28) with gemination. The rest read it without gemination (i.e., *yunzilu l-ğayṭa*) and that has already been mentioned.²⁸⁴

F.32. Sūrat al-Sağdah

7: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ibn ʿĀmir and ʾAbū ʿAmr read *kulla šayʾin ḥalqahū* with no vowel on the *lām*, and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *ḥalaqahū*).

17: Ḥamzah reads *mā ʾuhfi lahum* with no vowel on the *yāʾ* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *ʾuhfiya*).

24: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾi read *limā ṣabarū* with *kasrah* on the *lām* and without gemination of the *mīm*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *lām* and gemination of the *mīm* (i.e., *lammā*).

F.33. Sūrat al-ʾAḥzāb

2: ʾAbū ʿAmr reads *bi-mā yaʿmalūna ḥabīran* and *bi-mā yaʿmalūna baṣīran* (Q33:9) with *yāʾ* on both. The rest read it with *tāʾ* (i.e., *taʿmalūna*).

4:²⁸⁵ Qālūn and Qunbul read *allāʾi* here, in al-Muğāḍalah (Q68:2) and al-Ṭalāq (Q65:4) with *hamzah* and without *yāʾ*. Warṣ reads it with a *yāʾ* carrying an ultrashort *kasrah*²⁸⁶ in place of the *hamzah* (i.e., *allā.i*).²⁸⁷ If he pauses on it, he articulates the *yāʾ* without vowel (i.e., *allāy#*).^(P:177) Al-Bazzī and ʾAbū ʿAmr read it with a *yāʾ* not carrying a vowel that replaces the *hamzah* in connected speech and pause (i.e., *allāy(#)*). The rest read it with *hamzah* and with *yāʾ* after the *hamzah* in connected speech and pause (i.e., *allāʾi*). Ḥamzah, however, when he pauses, makes the *hamzah* pronounced in between in accordance with his general principle²⁸⁸ (i.e., *allā.i#*).

²⁸⁴ See F.2:90.

²⁸⁵ Pretzl erroneously marks this as verse 7 (al-Dānī 2008a, 60).

²⁸⁶ Absent in Pretzl (al-Dānī 2008a, 60).

²⁸⁷ The literal reading of this description points to *allāyī*. In modern recitation this is understood to be *allā.i* (described as such by Ibn al-Ğazarī 2018, §1522).

²⁸⁸ See U.11.6.

Whoever pronounces the *hamzah* among them or does not pronounce it, they pronounce fully the strength of the 'alif in connected speech and pause (i.e., *allā'i* or *allāy*), except for Warš. For him both an overlong vowel and a vowel of regular length are allowed in his practice (i.e., *allā.i* and *allā.i*), as we have already mentioned in the chapter of two *hamzahs*.²⁸⁹

'Āṣim reads *tuḏāhirūna* with *ḍammah* on the *tā'*, without gemination of the *ḏā'*, with 'alif after it and with *kasrah* on the *hā'*. Ibn 'Āmir reads it with *fathah* on the *tā'* and *hā'*, and with gemination of the *ḏā'* with 'alif after it (i.e., *taḏḏāharūna*). Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read it like that except that they did not geminate the *ḏā'* (i.e., *taḏāharūna*). The rest read it with *fathah* on the *tā'* and gemination of the *ḏā'* and *hā'* without 'alif (i.e., *taḏḏahharūna*).

10: Ḥamzah and 'Abū 'Amr read *aḏ-ḏunūna*, *ar-rasūla* (Q33:66) and *as-sabīla* (Q33:67) with the removal of the 'alif in connected speech and pause. Ibn Kaṭīr, Ḥafṣ and al-Kisā'i with removal in connected speech only (i.e., *aḏ-ḏunūna*, *aḏ-ḏunūnā#*; *ar-rasūla*, *ar-rasūlā#*; *as-sabīla*, *as-sabīlā#*). The rest read it with retention of the 'alif in connected speech and pause (i.e., *aḏ-ḏunūnā*, *aḏ-ḏunūnā#*; *ar-rasūlā*, *ar-rasūlā#*; *as-sabīlā*, *as-sabīlā#*).

13: Ḥafṣ reads *lā muqāma lakum* with *ḍammah* on the (first) *mīm* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *maqāma*).

14: The two of the holy cities read *la-'atawhā* short, and the rest with length (i.e., *la-'ātawhā*).

21: 'Āṣim reads 'uswatun here and in two places in al-Mumtaḥanah (Q60:4, 6) with *ḍammah* on the *hamzah*. The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., 'iswatun).

26: *ar-ru'(u)ba*²⁹⁰ and *mubayya/inatin* (Q33:30)²⁹¹ have already been mentioned. (P:178)

30: Ibn Kaṭīr and Ibn 'Āmir read *nuḏa'af laḥā* with *nūn*, with *kasrah* on the 'ayn with gemination and without 'alif, and *al-'aḏāba* with *naṣb*. The rest read it with *yā'*, *fathah* on the 'ayn and with *raf'* of *al-'aḏābu*. 'Abū 'Amr geminated the 'ayn and removed the 'alif that is before it (i.e., *yuḏa'af laḥā l-'aḏābu*). The rest made it ungeminated and retained the 'alif (i.e., *yuḏā'af laḥā l-'aḏābu*).

²⁸⁹ See U.11.2. While al-Dānī discusses the option of pronouncing the vowel as not overlong in that section, he does not explicitly attribute it to Warš as he seems to do here.

²⁹⁰ See F.3:151.

²⁹¹ See F.4:19.

31: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-ya'mal ṣāliḥan yu'tihā 'ağrahā* with *yā'* on both. The rest read it with *tā'* on the first and *nūn* on the second (i.e., *wa-ta'mal ṣāliḥan nu'tihā*).

33: Nāfi' and 'Āṣim read *wa-qarna* with *fathah* on the *qāf* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *qirna*).

36: The Kufans and Hišām read *'an yakūna lahum* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *takūna*).

40: 'Āṣim reads *wa-ḥātama n-nabiyyīna* with *fathah* on the *tā'* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *ḥātima*).

49: *'an tamāssūhunna*,²⁹² *turğī/turğī'u* (Q33:51)²⁹³ and *'inā/ēhu* (Q33:53)²⁹⁴ have already been mentioned.

52: 'Abū 'Amr reads *lā taḥillu laka* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yaḥillu*).

67: Ibn 'Āmir reads *sādātīnā* in the plural with *kasrah* on the *tā'* and the rest in the singular with *naṣb* of the *tā'* (i.e., *sādatanā*).

68: 'Āṣim reads *la'nān kabīran* with *bā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *kaṭīran*).

There are no *yā'*s at all.

F.34. Sūrat al-Saba'

3: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'allāmi l-ğaybi* with *'alif* after the *lām* and with *ḥafḍ* of the *mīm* in the pattern *fa''āl*. The rest read *'ālimu/i l-ğaybi* with *'alif* after the *'ayn* in the pattern *fā'īl*. Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir applied *raf'* to it (i.e., *'ālimu*) and the rest applied *ḥafḍ* (i.e., *'ālimi*).^(P:179)

lā ya'zi/ubu,²⁹⁵ and *mu'ağğizīna/mu'ağğizīna* in two places (Q34:5, 38)²⁹⁶ have already been mentioned.

5: Ibn Kaṭīr and Ḥafṣ read *min riğzin 'ālimun* here and in al-Ğāṭiyah (Q45:11) with *raf'* of the *mīm* and the rest with *ğarr* (i.e., *'ālimin*).

²⁹² See F.2:236.

²⁹³ See F.9:106.

²⁹⁴ See U.13.1.

²⁹⁵ See F.10:61.

²⁹⁶ See F.22:51.

9: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read 'in yaša' *yaḥsif* and 'aw yusqit' with *yā'* for all three, and al-Kisā'i assimilated the *fā'* to the *bā'* (i.e., *yaḥsib=biḥumu l-'arḍa*). The rest read *nūn* of those (i.e., *naša', naḥsif, nusqit*).

kis(a)fan has already been mentioned.²⁹⁷

12: 'Abū Bakr reads *wa-li-sulaymāna r-rīḥu* with *raf'* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *ar-rīḥa*).

14: Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr read *minsātahū* with an unvocalised 'alif replacing the *hamzah*; the replacement is received by audition (as it is irregular and cannot be defended on other grounds). Ibn Ḍakwān reads it with an unvowelled *hamzah* (i.e., *minsa'tahū*). Similar forms occur on occasion in poetry to fit the metre, as al-'Aḥfaṣ al-Dimašqī recited (the verse):

ṣarī'u ḥamrin qāma min waka'tihī ka-qawmati š-šayḥi 'ilā minsa'tihī

A drunk got up from his stupor, like an old man gets up to his cane.

The rest read it with a *hamzah* that carries a *fathah* (i.e., *minsa'atahū*). But when Ḥamzah pauses, he makes (the *hamzah*) in between in accordance with his general principle (i.e., *minsa.atah#*).²⁹⁸

15: *li-saba'in/a* has already been mentioned.²⁹⁹

Ḥafṣ and Ḥamzah read *fī maskanihim* with no vowel on the *sīn* and *fathah* on the *kāf*. Al-Kisā'i reads likewise, except he has *kasrah* on the *kāf* (*maskinihim*). The rest read it with *fathah* on the *sīn*, *kasrah* on the *kāf* and with an 'alif between them (i.e., *masākinihim*).

16: 'Abū 'Amr reads *ḍawāṭay 'ukuli ḥamṭin* without *tanwīn* on the *lām* and the rest with *tanwīn* (i.e., *'uk(u)lin ḥamtin*). The lack of pronunciation of an extra vowel of *al-'ukl* here by the two of the holy cities has already been mentioned.^{300 (P:180)}

17: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-hal nuḡāzī* with *nūn* and with *kasrah* on the *zāy*, and 'illā *kafūra* with *naṣb*. The rest read it with *yā'*, *fathah* on the *zāy* and with *raf'* (i.e., *hal yuḡāza/ā 'illā kafūru*).

²⁹⁷ See F.17:92.

²⁹⁸ See U.11.6.1.

²⁹⁹ See F.27:22.

³⁰⁰ See F.2:260.

19: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and Hišām read *rabbānā ba'ʿid bayna* with gemination of the 'ayn without 'alif. The rest read it with 'alif and without gemination (i.e., *bā'id*).

20: The Kufans read *wa-la-qad ṣaddaqa* with gemination of the *dāl* and the rest without gemination (i.e., *ṣadaqa*).

23: 'Abū 'Amr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *li-man 'uḍina lahū* with *ḍammah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., 'aḍina).

Ibn 'Āmir reads *ḥattā 'iḍā fazza'a* with *fathah* on the *fā'* and the *zāy*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *fā'* and *kasrah* on the *zāy* (i.e., *fuzzi'a*).

37: Ḥamzah reads *fī l-ḡurufati* without 'alif as a singular and the rest with 'alif as a plural (i.e., *al-ḡurufāti*).

40: *wa-yawma yaḥṣuruhum ... tumma yaqūlu* has already been mentioned.³⁰¹

52: The two of the holy cities, Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥafṣ read *at-tanāwuṣū* with *ḍammah* on the *wāw* and the rest read it with *hamzah* (i.e., *at-tanā'uṣū*).

When Ḥamzah pauses on it, he makes it in between (i.e., *at-tanā.uṣ#*)³⁰² because it is from *an-na'is* which means *al-ḥarakah fī l-'ibtā'* ('moving slowly'), so its root has a *hamzah*. But it is also conceivable to interpret it as coming from *an-nawṣ* which means *at-tanāwul* ('to accept'). In this case, its root has a *wāw* and it is subsequently given a *hamzah* because of the *ḍammah* requiring it.³⁰³ In effect the pausing on the *ḍammah* with a *wāw* returns it to its original form.

54: Ibn 'Āmir and al-Kisā'i read *wa-ḥūla baynahum* and in al-Zumar (Q39:71, 73) *sūqa llaḍina* with 'išmām of the *ḍamm* to the *ḥā'* and *sīn* and the rest read it with pure *kasrah* (i.e., *ḥīla, sīqa*).^(P:181)

³⁰¹ See F.6:128.

³⁰² See U.11.6.1.

³⁰³ In Classical Arabic the sequence *wu* is frequently shifted to 'u, although it is never quite regular. Sibawayh (1988, IV:331) reports 'ulida and 'uḡūh for *wulida* and *wuḡūh*. In the Qur'ān this phenomenon is found in yet another place, namely Q77:11, where ائقت is read as 'uqittat by the majority of the readers but as *wuqqitat* by 'Abū 'Amr (F.77:11.).

F.34.1. [Yā's of Q34]

There are three yā's:

1. 'ibādi š-šakūru (Q34:13) with no vowel (on the yā') by Ḥamzah.
2. 'in 'ağrī 'illā (Q34:47) with no vowel by Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i.
3. rabbiya 'innahu samī'un (Q34:50) with *fathah* by Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr.

F.34.2. [Removed yā's of Q34]

There are two removed ones:

1. ka-l-ğawābī (Q34:13) with retention (of the yā') in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr, and with retention in connected speech by Warš and 'Abū 'Amr.
2. kāna nakīrī (Q34:45) with retention (of the yā') in connected speech by Warš.

F.35. Sūrat al-Fāṭir

3: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *ğayri llāhi* with *ḥafḍ* of the *rā'* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *ğayru llāhi*).

9: 'arsala r-riyāḥa/r-rīḥa³⁰⁴ and 'ilā baladin may(yi)tin³⁰⁵ have already been mentioned.

33: 'Abū 'Amr reads *yudḥalūnahā* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and *fathah* on the *ḥā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *yā'* and *ḍammah* on the *ḥā'* (i.e., *yadhulūnahā*).

wa-lu'lu'in/an has already been mentioned.³⁰⁶

36: 'Abū 'Amr reads *ka-ḍālīka yuğzā* with a *yā'* that carries a *ḍammah* and with *fathah* on the *zāy*, and *kullu kafūrin* with *raf'*. The rest read it with a *nūn* that carries a *fathah*, with *kasrah* on the *zāy* and with *naṣb* (i.e., *ka-ḍālīka yağzī kulla kafūrin*).

40: Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir, 'Abū Bakr and al-Kisā'i read *'alā bayyinātin* with *'alif*, in the plural, and the rest without *'alif*, in the singular (i.e., *bayyinatin*).

43: Ḥamzah reads *wa-makra s-sayyi'* with no vowel on the *hamzah* in connected speech; due to the succession of vowels, it is pronounced without the final vowel (i.e., *as-sayyi'i wa-lā* would contain four open syllables in a row), just like how 'Abū 'Amr places no vowel on

³⁰⁴ See F.2:163.

³⁰⁵ See F.3:27.

³⁰⁶ See F.22:23.

the *hamzah* of *bāriʾkum*,³⁰⁷ and what it is like that when he pauses on it. He replaces (the *hamzah*) with a quiescent *yāʾ* (i.e., *as-sayyiʾ#*). The rest give it *ḥafḍ* in connected speech (i.e., *as-sayyiʾi*) and allow *rawm* (i.e., *as-sayyiʾiʿ#*) or no vowel in pause (i.e., *as-sayyiʾ#*).^(P:183)

F.35.1. [Removed *yāʾ* of Q35]

There is a removed one: it is *kāna nakīrī* (Q35:26) with retention (of the *yāʾ*) in connected speech by Warš.

F.36. Sūrat Yā-Sīn

1: ʾAbū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *yē-sīn* with *ʾimālah* of the *fathah* of the *yāʾ* and the rest read it with a pure *fathah* (i.e., *yā-sīn*). Warš, ʾAbū Bakr, Ibn ʿĀmir and al-Kisāʾī assimilated the *nūn* of the letters to the *wāw* but retained nasalisation (i.e., *yā/ē-sīw̃-wa-l-qurʾāni*).

It is like that in *nūw̃-wa-l-qalami* (Q68:1) except for most people of the oral tradition among the Egyptians. They adopt the *nūn*, in the tradition of Warš, there (i.e., Q68:1) with clear pronunciation (i.e., *nūn wa-l-qalami*). The rest pronounces the *nūn* clearly in both *sūrahs* (i.e., *yā/ē-sīn wa-l-qurʾān*, *nūn wa-l-qalami*).

5: Ḥafṣ, Ibn ʿĀmir, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *tanzīla l-ʿazīzi* with *naṣb* of the *lām* and the rest with *rafʿ* (i.e., *tanzīlu l-ʿazīzi*).

9: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *saddan* in both cases (in this verse) with *fathah* on the *sīn* and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *suddan*).

14: ʾAbū Bakr reads *fa-ʿazzaznā* without gemination of the *zāy* and the rest with gemination (i.e., *fa-ʿazzaznā*).

32: *lammā/lamā ḡamīʿun*,³⁰⁸ *al-ʾarḍu l-may(yi)tatu* (Q36:33),³⁰⁹ *min ṭamarihi* (Q36:35)³¹⁰ have already been mentioned.^(P:183)

³⁰⁷ See F.2:54. The explanation that this is due to the succession of vowels (*tawālī l-ḥarakāt*) is an old one: al-Farrāʾ uses the same argument in *Luḡāt al-Qurʾān* (al-Farrāʾ 2014, 30).

³⁰⁸ See F.11:111.

³⁰⁹ See F.6:122.

³¹⁰ See F.6:99.

35: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-mā 'amilat 'aydihim* without *hā'* and the rest with *hā'* (i.e., *'amilathū*).³¹¹

39: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *wa-l-qamara qaddarnāhu* with *naṣb* of the *rā'* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *wa-l-qamaru*).

41: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *ḍurriyyātihim* in the plural with *kasrah* on the *tā'* and the rest read it in the singular with *fathah* on the *tā'* (i.e., *ḍurriyatahum(ū)*).

49: Ibn Kaṭīr, Warš and Hišām read *yaḥṣṣimūna* with *fathah* on the *ḥā'* and gemination on the *ṣād*. Qālūn and 'Abū 'Amr read it with ultrashort *fathah* on the *ḥā'* and gemination of the *ṣād* (i.e., *yaḥṣṣimūna*); the written transmission from Qālūn is without a vowel (i.e., *yaḥṣṣimūna*).³¹² Ḥamzah reads it with no vowel on the *ḥā'* and no gemination of the *ṣād*. The rest—that is, 'Āṣim, Ibn Ḍakwān and al-Kisā'i—read it with *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* and gemination of the *ṣād* (i.e., *yaḥiṣṣimūna*).

52: *min marqadinā* has already been mentioned.³¹³

55: The two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr read *fī ṣuḡlīn* with no vowel on the *ḡayn* and the rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *ṣuḡulin*).

56: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *fī ḍulalīn* with *ḍammah* on the *ḍā'* without 'alif. The rest read it with *kasrah* and 'alif (i.e., *ḍilālīn*).

62: Nāfi' and 'Āṣim read *ḡibillan kaṭīran* with *kasrah* on the *ḡīm* and *bā'* and gemination of the *lām*. 'Abū 'Amr and Ibn 'Āmir read it with *ḍammah* on the *ḡīm*, no vowel on the *bā'* and no gemination on the *lām* (i.e., *ḡublan*). The rest read it like that except that they place a *ḍammah* on the *bā'* (i.e., *ḡubulan*).^(P:184)

67: *'alā makānātihim* has already been mentioned.³¹⁴

68: 'Āṣim and Ḥamzah read *nunakkishu fī l-ḥalqī* with *ḍammah* on the first *nūn*, *fathah* on the second and *kasrah* on the *kāf* with gemination. The rest read it with *fathah* on the first *nūn*, no vowel on the second and *ḍammah* on an ungeminated *kāf* (i.e., *nankushū*).

³¹¹ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 141).

³¹² Qālūn is said to have authored a book on his transmission of Nāfi' which he recited to his students (al-Dānī 2007, 292).

³¹³ See F.18:1.

³¹⁴ See F.6:135.

Nāfi‘ and Ibn ʿDakwān read *ʾa-fa-lā taʿqilūna* here with *tāʾ* and the rest with *yāʾ* (i.e., *yaʿqilūna*).

70: Nāfi‘ and Ibn ʿĀmir read *li-tunḍira man kāna* with *tāʾ* and the rest with *yāʾ* (i.e., *li-yunḍira*).

73: *wa-mašā/ēribu*³¹⁵ and *fa-yakūnu/a* (Q38:82)³¹⁶ have already been mentioned.

F.36.1. [Yāʾs of Q36]

There are three *yāʾ*s:

1. *wa-mā lī lā ʾaʿbudu* (Q36:22) with no vowel by Ḥamzah.
2. *ʾinniya ʾidān lafī* (Q36:24) with *fathah* by Nāfi‘ and ʾAbū ʿAmr.
3. *ʾinniya ʾāmantu* (Q36:25) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and ʾAbū ʿAmr.

F.36.2. [Removed yāʾ of Q36]

There is a removed one: *wa-lā yunqidūni* (Q36:23) with retention (of the *yāʾ*) in connected speech by Warṣ.

F.37. Sūrat al-Ṣāffāt

1, 2, 3: Ḥamzah reads *aṣ-ṣāffāṣṣaffan* (Q37:1), *fa-zāğirāzṣağran* (Q37:2), *fa-t-tāliyādḍikran* and likewise *wa-ḍ-ḍāriyādḍirwan* (Q51:1) with assimilation of the *tāʾ* to what comes after it without hinting (at the vowel through *rawm* or *ʾiṣmām*) in all four.

ʾAbū al-Faḥḥ taught me to recite in the transmission of Ḥallād *fa-l-muqliyādḍikran*, *fa-l-muğirāṣṣubḥan* in al-Mursalāt (Q77:5) and al-ʿĀdiyāt (Q100:3) with assimilation also, without hinting (at the vowel through *rawm* or *ʾiṣmām*).^(P:185)

The rest placed *kasrah* on the *tāʾ* in all these cases without assimilation except what occurs in the manner of ʾAbū ʿAmr when he applies major assimilation. We have explained that previously.³¹⁷

6: ʿĀṣim and Ḥamzah read *bi-zayyinatin* with *tanwīn* and the rest without *tanwīn* (i.e., *bi-zayyinati*).

³¹⁵ See U.13.6.

³¹⁶ See F.2:117.

³¹⁷ See U.8.

'Abū Bakr reads *al-kawākiba* with *naṣb* and the rest with *ḥafḍ* (i.e., *al-kawākibi*).

8: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *lā yassamma'ūna* with gemination of both the *sīn* and *mīm*. The rest read it without vowel on the *sīn* and no gemination of the *mīm* (i.e., *yasma'ūna*).

12: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *bal 'ağibtu* with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *'ağibta*).

17: Qālūn and Ibn 'Amir read *'aw 'ābā'unā* here and in al-Wāqī'ah (Q56:48) with no vowel on the *wāw*. The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *'a-wa-'ābā'unā*).³¹⁸

al-muḥli/aṣīna and all that is said about it³¹⁹ and *qul na'a/im* (Q37:18)³²⁰ have already been mentioned.

47: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'anhā yunzifūna* with *kasrah* on the *zāy* here and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *yunzafūna*). There is no disagreement on the *ḍammah* on the *yā'*.

94: Ḥamzah reads *'ilayhi yuziffūna* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *yaziffūna*).

102: *yā bunayyi/a 'inni*³²¹ and *yā 'abat/h#*³²² have already been mentioned.

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *mā-ḍā turī* with *ḍammah* on the *tā'*, *kasrah* on the *rā'* and the *kasrah* is pure (i.e., not *'imālah*), making it a verb of four letters (i.e., an *'af'ala* verb rather than a *fa'ala* verb). The rest place *fathah* on both, making it a verb of three letters (i.e., a *fa'ala* verb), 'Abū 'Amr applies *'imālah* to the *fathah* of the *rā'* (i.e., *tarē*) and Warṣ makes it in between (i.e., *tarā*), in accordance with their general principles.³²³ The rest read it with pure *fathah* (i.e., *tarā*).^(P:187)

123: Ibn Ḍakwān reads, according to my recitation to ['Abd al-'Azīz b. Ġa'far] al-Fārisī, transmitting from al-Naqqāš from al-'Aḥfaš from him, *wa-'inna l-yāsa* with removal of the *hamzah* (and in other paths it is transmitted like the rest). The rest pronounces it (i.e., *wa-'inna 'ilyāsa*).

³¹⁸ This is a difference of interpretation of the same *rasm* اوأنا which has ambiguous word division.

³¹⁹ See F.12:24.

³²⁰ See F.7:44.

³²¹ See F.12:5.

³²² See F.12:4.

³²³ See U.13.

That is also how I recite it for Ibn ʿAkwān in the path of the Syrians.³²⁴ But Ibn ʿAkwān says in his book, “It is without *hamzah*.” God knows best what he meant.³²⁵

126: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʿī read *allāha rabbakum wa-rabba* with *naṣb* of the three nouns and the rest with *rafʿ* (i.e., *allāhu rabbukum(ū) wa-rabbu*).

130: Nāfiʿ and Ibn ʿĀmir read *ʿalā ʿāli yāsīn* as separate words like *ʿāli muḥammadīn*. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and no vowel on the *lām* connecting the words (i.e., *ʿilyāsīn*).³²⁶

F.37.1. [Yāʾs of Q37]

There are three *yāʾ*s:

1. *ʾinniya ʾarāʾē fī l-manāmi*, and
2. *ʾanniya ʾaḍbaḥuka* (Q37:102) with *fathah* of both by the two of the holy cities and ʾAbū ʿĀmir.
3. *sa-taḡiduniya ʾin šāʾa llāhu* (Q37:103) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ.

F.37.2. [Removed *yāʾ* of Q37]

There is a removed one: *la-turḍīnī wa-law-lā* (Q37:56–7) with retention (of the *yāʾ*) in connected speech by Warṣ.

F.38. Sūrat Ṣād

15: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʿī read *min fuwāqin* with *ḍammah* on the *fāʾ* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *fawāqin*).

³²⁴ The Ḡāmiʿ *al-bayān* is more specific, “... from a group of Syrians from al-ʿAḥfaṣ.” There are indeed several readers that transmit through al-ʿAḥfaṣ (al-Dānī 2007, 334–36, 1527).

³²⁵ This comment does not make much sense in the context that the *Taysīr* gives us. However, on examining the discussion in al-Dānī’s Ḡāmiʿ *al-bayān*, it becomes clear that many (including al-Dānī) think that the wording in Ibn ʿAkwān’s book was not to indicate the presence of an *ʾalif al-waṣl*, but rather to prevent the reader from reading *ʾilyaʾsa* (al-Dānī 2007, 1527–28).

³²⁶ The *rasm* of this phrase *ال ياسين* obviously favours the former reading as two separate words.

13: 'aṣḥābu l(?)aykati/a³²⁷ and bi-s-sūqi/bi-s-su'qi/bi-s-su'ūqi (Q38:33)³²⁸ have already been mentioned.^(P:187)

45: Ibn Kaṭīr reads wa-ḍkur 'abdanā 'ibrāhīma in the singular and the rest in the plural (i.e., 'ibādanā).

46: Nāfi' and Hišām read bi-ḥālīṣati without *tanwīn* and the rest with *tanwīn* (i.e., bi-ḥālīṣatin).

48: wa-l-yasa'a/wa-l-laysa'a has already been mentioned.³²⁹

53: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read hādā mā yū'adūna with yā' and the rest with tā' (i.e., tū'adūna).

57: Ḥaṣṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read wa-ḡassāqun and in al-Naba' (Q78:25) wa-ḡassāqan with gemination of the *ṣīn* for both. The rest read it without gemination (i.e., wa-ḡasāqun, wa-ḡasāqan).

58: 'Abū 'Amr reads wa-'uḥaru min ṣakliḥi with ḍammah on the *hamzah* in the plural. The rest read it with *fathah* and an 'alif after it in the singular (i.e., wa-'āḥaru).

62–63: 'Abū 'Amr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read min al-'aṣrā/ēri // ttaḥaḍnāhum with 'alif al-waṣl and with *kasrah* when they start on it (i.e., #ittaḥaḍnāhum). The rest read it with 'alif al-qat' in both connected speech and when starting on it (i.e., (#)'a-ttaḥaḍnāhum).

su/iḥriyyan has already been mentioned.³³⁰

84: 'Āṣim and Ḥamzah read qāla fa-l-ḥaqqu with *raf'* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., fa-l-ḥaqqā). There is no disagreement on the second instance (of the word) before 'aqūlu (i.e., all read wa-l-ḥaqqā 'aqūlu).

al-muḥli/aṣīn (Q28:83) has already been mentioned.³³¹

³²⁷ See F.26:176.

³²⁸ See F.27:44.

³²⁹ See F.6:86.

³³⁰ See F.23:110.

³³¹ See F.12:24.

F.38.1. [Yā's of Q38]

There are six yā's:

1. *wa-liya naʿṣatun* (Q38:23) and
2. *mā kāna liya min ʿilmin* (Q38:69) both with *fathah* by Ḥafṣ.
3. *ʾinniya ʾaḥbabtu* (Q38:32) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and ʾAbū ʿAmr.
4. *min baʿdiya ʾinnaka* (Q38:35) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿAmr.
5. *massani š-šaytānu* (Q38:41) with no vowel by Ḥamzah.
6. *laʿnatiya ʾilā* (Q38:78) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ.^(P:188)

F.39. Sūrat al-Zumar

6: I have already mentioned *fī buṭūni ʾi/umma/ihātikum(ū)*.³³²

7: Nāfiʿ, ʿĀṣim, Ḥamzah and Hišām, (the last one of the four) with some disagreement, read *yarḍahu lakum* with shortness of the *ḍammah* on the *hā*.³³³ Hišām in my recitation to ʾAbū al-Faṭḥ, ʾAbū Šuʿayb [as-Sūsī], ʾAbū ʿUmar [al-Dūrī]³³⁴ and others transmitting from al-Yazīdī read it without a vowel (i.e., *yarḍah*). However, I recited it to [ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ġaʿfar] al-Fārisī and the other (ʾAbū al-Faṭḥ) via the people of Iraq [= al-Dūrī and others] with *ṣilah* of the *wāw*. This is the transmission of ʾAbū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [Ibn al-Yazīdī] and ʾAbū Ḥamdūn³³⁵ and others from al-Yazīdī (i.e., *yarḍahū*).³³⁶ The rest read it with *ṣilah* of the *wāw* (i.e., *yarḍahū*).

³³² See F.4:11.

³³³ Shortness translates *iḥtilās* here. This normally means ‘ultrashort’, but it is technically a relative term. Since underlying form of the vowel is long (-*hū*), its shortening just yields -*hu* not -*hū*.

³³⁴ Pretzl has ʾAbū ʿAmr (al-Dānī 2008a, 64).

³³⁵ Neither Ibn al-Yazīdī nor ʾAbū Ḥamdūn are present in the *ʾisnāds* section U.4.3. but they are mentioned in the *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 327, 328–29).

³³⁶ This complex paragraph highlights a conflict between what al-Dānī has received through *tilāwah* (*yarḍah* for Hišām and *yarḍahū* for al-Sūsī and al-Dūrī), and *riwāyah* (*yarḍahu* for Hišām and *yarḍah* for al-Sūsī and al-Dūrī). The *riwāyah* transmission reported is indeed exactly as it appears in Ibn Muḡāhid’s *Kitāb al-sabʿah* where al-Dānī gets his *riwāyah* transmission from, through Muḡammad b. ʾAḥmad (Ibn Muḡāhid 1972, 560–61).

8: *li-yaḍilla/li-yuḍilla* has already been mentioned.³³⁷

9: The two of the holy cities and Ḥamzah read 'a-man huwa without gemination of the *mīm* and the rest with gemination (i.e., 'am-man).

17–18: 'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī] reads *fa-baššir 'ibādiya // llaḍīna* with a *yā'* that carries a *fathah* in connected speech and with no vowel in pause (i.e., 'ibādī#). 'Abū Ḥamdūn³³⁸ and others transmitting from al-Yazīdī say that it is with *fathah* (on the *yā'*) in connected speech but with removal (of the *yā'*) in pause (i.e., 'ibād#). To me this is an analogy (*qiyās*) with the opinion of 'Abū 'Amr to follow what is written in pause.³³⁹ The rest removes (the *yā'*) in both connected speech and pause (i.e., 'ibādi, 'ibād#).

29: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *wa-raḡulan sālīman* with 'alif after the *sīn* and *kasrah* on the *lām*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *lām* without 'alif (i.e., *salaman*).

36: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *bi-kāfin 'ibādahū* with 'alif as a plural and the rest without 'alif as a singular (i.e., 'abdahū).

39: 'alā makānātikum(ū) has already been mentioned.³⁴⁰ (P:189)

38: 'Abū 'Amr reads *kāšifātun ḍurrahū* and *mumsikātun raḥmatahū* with *tanwīn* on both and with *naṣb* of *ḍurrahū* and *raḥmatahū*. The rest read it without *tanwīn* and with *ḥafḍ* of *ḍurrihī* and *raḥmatihī* (i.e., *kāšifatu ḍurrihī, mumsikātu raḥmatihī*).

42: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *allatī quḍiya 'alayhā* with *ḍammah* on the *qāf*, *kasrah* on the *ḍād* and *fathah* on the *yā'*, and *al-mawtu* with *raf'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on both the *qāf* and *ḍād*, with an 'alif after it in pronunciation (as opposed to its spelling with a *yā'*) and *al-mawta* with *naṣb* (i.e., *allatī qaḍā/ā 'alayhā l-mawta*).

53: *lā taqni/aṭū* has already been mentioned.³⁴¹

61: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *bi-mafāzātihim* with 'alif as a plural and the rest without 'alif as a singular (i.e., *bi-mafāzatihim(ū)*).

³³⁷ See F.14:30.

³³⁸ 'Abū Ḥamdūn is not present in U.4.3. But he is mentioned in the *Ġāmi'* *al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 328–29).

³³⁹ The *rasm* here lacks the final *yā'*, i.e., عباد.

³⁴⁰ See F.6:135.

³⁴¹ See F.15:65.

64: Ibn ‘Āmir reads *ta’murūnani ‘a’budu* with two *nūns*, the first one carrying a *fathah*. Nāfi‘ reads it with one ungeminated *nūn* (i.e., *ta’/āmurūnī*) and the rest read it with a single geminated *nūn* (i.e., *ta’/āmurūnnī*).³⁴²

69: *wa-ğū/i’a* and *wa-sū/iqa* (Q39:71, 73) have already been mentioned.³⁴³

71: The Kufans read *futiḥat ‘abwābuhā* in two places here (Q39:71, 73) and in al-Naba’ (Q78:19) without gemination of the *tā’*. The rest read it with gemination (i.e., *futtiḥat*).

F.39.1. [Yā’s of Q39]

There are six *yā’s*:

1. *’inniya ‘umirtu* (Q39:11) with *fathah* by Nāfi‘.
2. *’inniya ‘aḥāfu* (Q39:13) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and ‘Abū ‘Amr.
3. *’in ‘arādani llāhu* (Q39:38) with no vowel by Ḥamzah.
4. *qul yā ‘ibādī llaḏīna ‘asrafū* (Q39:53) with no vowel in pause (i.e., *yā ‘ibād#*), and removal (of the *yā’*) in continued speech by ‘Abū ‘Amr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī in accordance to what we have mentioned in al-‘Ankabūt (Q29:56).³⁴⁴ The rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *yā ‘ibādiya*).^(P:190)
5. *ta’/āmurūn(n)iya* (Q39:64) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities.
6. *fa-baššir ‘ibādī* (Q39:17): we have discussed the disagreement previously.³⁴⁵

F.40. Sūrat al-Mu’mīn

1: Ibn Kaṭīr, Qālūn, Ḥaṣṣ and Hišām read *ḥā-mīm* with *fathah* on the *ḥā’* in all of the *Ḥāwāmīm* (Q40:1; Q41:1; Q42:1; Q43:1; Q44:1; Q45:1; Q46:1). Warš and ‘Abū ‘Amr pronounce it in between (i.e., *ḥā-mīm*) and the rest read it with *’imālah* (i.e., *ḥē-mīm*).

6: *kalimātu rabbika* has already been mentioned.³⁴⁶

20: Nāfi‘ and Hišām read *wa-llaḏīna tad’ūna* with *tā’* and the rest with *yā’* (i.e., *yad’ūna*).

³⁴² This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 147).

³⁴³ See F.2:11.

³⁴⁴ See F.29:yā’āt.

³⁴⁵ See F.39:17.

³⁴⁶ See F.10:33.

21: Ibn 'Āmir reads 'ašaddu minkum with *kāf* and the rest with *hā'* (i.e., *minhum(ū)*).³⁴⁷

26: The Kufans read 'aw 'an with the addition of 'alif before the wāw and without vowel on the wāw. The rest read it with *fathah* on the wāw and without 'alif (i.e., *wa-'an*).³⁴⁸

Nāfi', 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥafṣ read *yudhira* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and *kasrah* on the *hā'*, and *fī l-'arḍi l-fasāda* with *naṣb*. The rest read it with *fathah* on both the *yā'* and the *hā'*, and with *raf'* of *al-fasādu* (i.e., *yaḍhara fī l-'arḍi l-fasādu*).

35: 'Abū 'Amr and Ibn Ḍakwān read 'alā kulli qalbīn with *tanwīn* and the rest without *tanwīn* (i.e., 'alā kulli qalbī).

37: *wa-ṣa/udda 'ani s-sabīli* has already been mentioned.³⁴⁹

Ḥafṣ reads *fa-'aṭṭali'a* with *naṣb* of the 'ayn and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *fa-'aṭṭali'u*).

40: *yadhulūna l-ḡannata* has already been mentioned.³⁵⁰ (P:191)

46: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ibn 'Āmir, 'Abū 'Amr and 'Abū Bakr read *as-sā'atu dhulū* with 'alif *al-waṣl* and *ḍammah* on the *ḥā'*, but with *ḍammah* (on the 'alif) when starting on it (i.e., #*'udhulū*). The rest read it with 'alif *al-qat'* both when starting on it and in connected speech (*fī l-ḥālayn*) and with *kasrah* on the *ḥā'* (i.e., *'adhilū*).

52: The Kufans and Nāfi' read *yawma lā yanfa'u* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *tanfa'u*).

58: The Kufans read *qalīlan mā tataḍakkarūna* with two *tā'*s. The rest read it with *yā'* and *tā'* (i.e., *yataḍakkarūna*).

60: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū Bakr read *sa-yudhulūna ḡahannama* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'* and *fathah* on the *ḥā'*. The rest with *fathah* on the *yā'* and *ḍammah* on the *ḥā'* (i.e., *sa-yadhulūna*).

67: Nāfi', 'Abū 'Amr, Ḥafṣ and Hišām read *šuyūḥan* with *ḍammah* on the *šin* and the rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *šiyūḥan*).

kun fa-yakūna/u has already been mentioned.³⁵¹

³⁴⁷ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 141).

³⁴⁸ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 141).

³⁴⁹ See F.13:33.

³⁵⁰ See F.4:124.

³⁵¹ See F.2:117.

F.40.1. [Yā's of Q40]

There are eight yā's:

1. 'inniya 'aḥāfu in three places (Q40:26,
2. Q40:30,
3. Q40:32) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr.
4. ḍarūniya 'aqtul (Q40:26) and
5. 'ad'ūniya 'astaḡib lakumū (Q40:60) with *fathah* by Ibn Kaṭīr.
6. la'alli 'abluḡu (Q40:36) with no vowel by the Kufans.
7. mā li 'ad'ūkum (Q40:41) with no vowel by the Kufans and Ibn Ḍakwān.
8. 'amriya 'ilā ḷlāhi (Q40:44) with *fathah* by Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr.

F.40.2. [Removed yā's of Q40]

There are three removed ones:

1. at-talāqī (Q40:15) and
2. at-tunādī (Q40:32) with retention (of the yā') both in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr. With retention (of the yā') in connected speech by Warš and there is disagreement in transmission from Qālūn. I recited them for him in both ways (i.e., at-talāqī/at-talāqī, at-tunādī/at-tunādī).
3. ittabi'ūnī 'ahdikum(ū) (Q40:38) with retention (of the yā') both in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr. With retention (of the yā') in connected speech by Qālūn and 'Abū 'Amr.^(P:192)

F.41. Sūrat Fuṣṣilat

16: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *naḥisātin* with *kasrah* on the ḥā'. Al-Fārisī transmitted to me from 'Abū Ṭāhir from his companions from 'Abū al-Ḥārīt³⁵² that he applies 'imālah to *fathah* on the sīn (i.e., *naḥisētīn*), but I do not recite it like that because I think that it is a mistake. The rest read it without vowel on the ḥā' (i.e., *naḥsātīn*).

³⁵² This 'isnād to 'Abū al-Ḥārīt is not mentioned in U.4.7.2., nor is it mentioned in the Ḡāmi' al-bayān.

19: Nāfi' reads *wa-yawma naḥṣuru* with a *nūn* that carries a *fathah* and with *ḍammah* on the *šin*, and 'a'dā'a līhi with *naṣb*. The rest read it with a *yā'* that carries a *ḍammah* and with *fathah* on the *šin*, and 'a'dā'u līhi with *raf'* (i.e., *yuḥṣaru* 'a'dā'u līhi).

29: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ibn 'Āmir, 'Abū Bakr and 'Abū Šu'ayb [al-Sūsī] read *rabbānā* 'arnā without a vowel on the *rā'* here only. 'Abū 'Umar [al-Dūrī], transmitting from al-Yazīdī, reads it with an ultrashort *kasrah* (i.e., 'arīnā). The rest read it with a full vowel (i.e., 'arinā).

40: *allaḍīna yalḥadūna/yulḥidūna* has already been mentioned.³⁵³

44: Hišām reads 'a'ḡamiyyun with a single *hamzah* without length as a declarative. The rest read it as an interrogative.

'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i pronounce both *hamzahs* (i.e., 'a-'a'ḡamiyyun). The rest read it with *hamzah* and length. Qālūn and 'Abū 'Amr pronounce it with full length because in their opinion the 'alif is inserted between the *hamzah* pronounced strongly and the one pronounced softly (i.e., 'ā-.a'ḡamiyyun). Warš, in accordance with his general principle,³⁵⁴ replaces the second *hamzah* with an 'alif without insertion (of *ā*) between them (i.e., 'ā'ḡamiyyun).

Ibn Kaṭīr, likewise in accordance with his general principles, makes the second *hamzah* in between without insertion (of *ā*) between them (i.e., 'a-.a'ḡamiyyun). This is the same for what Ḥafṣ and Ibn Ḍakwān say, by analogy, (so they also recite 'a-.a'ḡamiyyun), because their (regular) practice is to pronounce both *hamzahs* without insertion (of *ā*) between them.

However, there are some people of oral tradition among my teachers who adopt for Ibn Ḍakwān the full pronunciation of the length (i.e., 'ā-.a'ḡamiyyun) here and in *Nūn wa-l-Qalam* in His speech 'ā-.an kāna ḍā mālin (Q68:14) analogous to the practice of Hišām. But this is not the right consideration nor is it proper from the point of view of analogy. This is because Ibn Ḍakwān, since he does not insert a separation with 'alif between two *hamzahs* even when he pronounces them fully, despite the heaviness of their meeting, it should be understood that introducing (*ā*) between them in the case of softening one of the two while this is (even) lighter, is incorrect for his practice.^(P:193)

³⁵³ See F.7:180.

³⁵⁴ See U.11.1.

Considering that al-ʿAḥfaṣ, transmitting from him, already said in his book³⁵⁵ that it is with full pronunciation of the first and softening of the second without mentioning insertion (of *ā*) between them in these two places, that is clearly in line with what we have said.

47: Nāfiʿ, Ibn ʿĀmir and Ḥafṣ read *min ṭamarātīn* in the plural and the rest in the singular (i.e., *min ṭamaratin*).

wa-na/eʾā/ē/ā bi-ḡānibihī/wa-nāʾa bi-ḡānibihī (Q41:51) has already been mentioned.³⁵⁶

F.41.1. [Yāʾs of Q41]

There are two yāʾs:

1. ʾayna ṣurukāʾiya qālū (Q41:47) with *fathah* by Ibn Ḍakwān.
2. ʾilā rabbiya ʾinna (Q41:50) with *fathah* by Nāfiʿ, with disagreement in the transmission from Qālūn, and ʾAbū ʿAmr.

F.42. Sūrat al-Šūrā

3: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *ka-dālīka yūḥā ʾilayka* with *fathah* on the ḥāʾ and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *yūḥī*).

5: *y/takādu s-samāwātu* has already been mentioned.³⁵⁷ (P:194)

ʾAbū Bakr and ʾAbū ʿAmr read *yanfaṭīrna* here with *nūn* and *kasrah* on the ṭāʾ. The rest read it with *tāʾ* and *fathah* on the ṭāʾ (i.e., *yatafaṭṭarna*).

23: Nāfiʿ, ʿĀṣim and Ibn ʿĀmir read *yubaššīru* with *ḍammah* on the yāʾ, *fathah* on the bāʾ and *kasrah* on a geminate šīn. The rest read it with *fathah* on the yāʾ, without a vowel on the bāʾ and with *ḍammah* on an ungeminated šīn (i.e., *yabšuru*).

25: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *wa-yaʿlamu mā tafʿalūna* with *tāʾ*. The rest read it with yāʾ (i.e., *yafʿalūna*).

28: *yunzīlu/yunazzīlu l-ḡayṭa* has already been mentioned.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ Al-ʿAḥfaṣ had a book describing the transmission of Ibn Ḍakwān (Hamdan 2018, 75).

³⁵⁶ See F.17:83.

³⁵⁷ See F.19:90.

³⁵⁸ See F.2:90.

30: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *bi-mā kasabat* without *fā'* and the rest read *fa-bi-mā* with *fā'*.³⁵⁹

33: *ar-rīḥa/ar-riyāḥa* has already been mentioned.³⁶⁰

35: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *ya'lamu llaḍīna* with *raf'* of the *mīm* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *ya'lama*).

37: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *kabīra l-ḥimī* here and in al-Nağm (Q53:32) with *kasrah* on the *bā'* without *'alif* or *hamzah*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *bā'*, and with *'alif* and *hamzah* after it (i.e., *kabā'ira*).

51: Nāfi' reads *'aw yursilu* with *raf'* of the *lām* and *fa-yūḥi bi-ḥidnihi* with no vowel on the *yā'*. The rest read both with *naṣb* (i.e., *yursila, fa-yūḥiya*).

F.42.1. [Removed *yā'* of Q42]

There is a removed one: it is *al-ğawārī fī l-baḥri* (Q42:32) with retention (of the *yā'*) both in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr, and with retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech only by Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr.

F.43. Sūrat al-Zuḥruf

4: I have already mentioned *fī 'u/immi l-kitābi*.³⁶¹

5: Nāfi', Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *ṣafḥan 'in kuntum* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *'an*).^(P:195)

10: *al-'arḍa mahdan/mihādan*,³⁶² *ka-ḍālika tuḥrağūna* (Q43:11),³⁶³ *ğuz(u)'an* (Q43:15)³⁶⁴ have already been mentioned.

18: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *'a-wa-man yunašša'u* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'*, *fathah* on the *nūn* and gemination of the *šin*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *yā'*, no vowel on the *nūn* and no gemination of the *šin* (i.e., *yanša'u*).

³⁵⁹ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 141).

³⁶⁰ See F.2:163.

³⁶¹ See F.4:11.

³⁶² See F.20:53.

³⁶³ See F.7:25.

³⁶⁴ See F.2:260.

19: The two of the holy cities and Ibn ‘Āmir read *‘inda r-raḥmāni* with a *nūn* that does not carry a vowel and with *fathah* on the *dāl*. The rest read it with a *bā’* that carries a *fathah*, with *‘alif* after it and with *ḍammah* on the *dāl* (i.e., *‘ibādu r-raḥmāni*).

Nāfi‘ reads *‘a.uṣhidū* with two *hamzahs*, the second carrying a *ḍammah* with softening, so that it is between the *hamzah* and the *wāw*. Qālūn, in the transmission of ‘Abū Naṣīṭ, with some disagreement, introduces an *‘alif* before it (i.e., *‘ā.uṣhidū*) and the *ṣīn* does not carry a vowel. The rest read *‘a-ṣahidū* with a single *hamzah* that carries a *fathah* and with *fathah* on the *ṣīn*.

24: Ibn ‘Āmir and Ḥaḥṣ read *qāla ‘ulū* with an *‘alif* and the rest read *qul* without *‘alif*.

33: Ibn Kaṭīr and ‘Abū ‘Amr read *saqfan* with *fathah* on the *sīn* and without a vowel on the *qāf* as a singular. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on both as a plural (i.e., *suqfan*).

35: ‘Āṣim, Ḥamzah and Hiṣām, with some disagreement, here read *lammā matā‘u* with gemination of the *mīm* and the rest read it without gemination (i.e., *la-mā*).

38: The two of the holy cities, Ibn ‘Āmir and ‘Abū Bakr read *‘idā ḡā‘ānā* with *‘alif* as a dual, and the rest read it without *‘alif* as a singular (i.e., *ḡā‘anā*).

49: *yā ‘ayyuha/u s-sāḥiru* has already been mentioned.^{365 (P:196)}

53: Ḥaḥṣ reads *‘alayhi ‘aswiratun* without a vowel on the *sīn* and without *‘alif*. The rest read it with *fathah* on it and with *‘alif* after it (i.e., *‘asāwiratun*).

56: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī read *fa-ḡa‘alnāhum sulufan* with *ḍammah* on both the *sīn* and the *lām*. The rest read it with *fathah* on both (i.e., *salafan*).

57: Nāfi‘, Ibn ‘Āmir and al-Kisā’ī read *yaṣuddūna* with *ḍammah* on the *ṣād* and the rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *yaṣiddūna*).

58: The Kufans read *‘a-‘ālihatunā ḥayrun* with full pronunciation of the two *hamzahs* and with an *‘alif* after it. The rest read it with softening of the second (*hamzah*) and with *‘alif* after it (i.e., *‘a-ālihatunā*). None of them introduces an *‘alif* between a *hamzah* pronounced fully and another pronounced softened, as we have already mentioned in Sūrat al-‘A‘rāf.³⁶⁶

71: Nāfi‘, Ibn ‘Āmir and Ḥaḥṣ read *taṣtaḥiḥi l-‘anfusu* with two *hā’s* and the rest read it with one (i.e., *taṣtaḥī*).³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ See F.24:31.

³⁶⁶ See F.7:123.

³⁶⁷ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 141).

81: *li-r-raḥmāni waladun/wuldun* has already been mentioned.³⁶⁸

85: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-ʾilayhi yurḡaʿūna* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'*.

88: ʿAṣim and Ḥamzah read *waqīlihi* with *ḥafḍ* of the *lām* and with *kasrah* on the *hā'*. The rest read it with *naṣb* of the *lām* and with *ḍammah* on the *hā'* (i.e., *waqīlahū*).

89: Nāfi' and Ibn ʿĀmir read *fa-sawfa taʿmalūna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yaʿmalūna*).

F.43.1. [Yā's of Q43]

There are two *yā'*s:

1. *min taḥtiya ʾa-fa-lā* (Q43:51) with *fathah* by Nāfi', al-Bazzī and ʾAbū ʿAmr.
2. *yā ʿibādiya lā ḥawfun* (Q43:68) with *fathah* by ʾAbū Bakr in connected speech, without a vowel in both connected speech and pause by Nāfi', ʾAbū ʿAmr and Ibn ʿĀmir (i.e., *yā ʿibādī*, *yā ʿibādī#*). The rest read it with removal (of the *yā'*) in both connected speech and pause (i.e., *yā ʿibādī*, *yā ʿibād#*).³⁶⁹

F.43.2. [Removed yā' of Q43]

There is a removed one: *wa-ttabiʿūnī ḥāḍā* (Q43:61) with addition in connected speech by ʾAbū ʿAmr.^(P:197)

F.44. Sūrat al-Duḥān

7: The Kufans read *rabbi s-samāwāti* with *ḥafḍ* and the rest with *rafʿ* (i.e., *rabbu*).

45: Ibn Kaṭīr and Ḥafṣ read *yaḡlī fī l-buṭūni* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *taglī*).

47: The two of the holy cities and Ibn ʿĀmir read *fa-ʿtulūhu* with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *fa-ʿtīlūhu*).

49: Al-Kisā'i reads *duq ʾannaka* with *fathah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *ʾinnaka*).

51: Nāfi' and Ibn ʿĀmir read *fī muqāmin* with *ḍammah* on the *mīm* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *maqāmin*).

³⁶⁸ See F.19:77.

³⁶⁹ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 141).

F.44.1. [Yā's of Q44]

There are two yā's:

1. 'inniya 'ātikum(ū) (Q44:19) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr.
2. liya fa-'tazilūni (Q44:21) with *fathah* by Warš.

F.44.2. [Removed yā's of Q44]

There are two removed ones:

1. 'an tarğumūnī (Q44:20) and
2. fa-'tazilūnī (Q44:21) with retention (of the yā') of both in connected speech by Warš.

F.45. Sūrat al-Ğāṭiyah

4, 5: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *taşrifi r-rīhi 'āyātin* (Q45:5) and *min dābbatin 'āyātin* (Q45:4) with *ar-rīhi* in the singular and with *kasrah* on the *tā'* of both words. The rest read it in the plural and with *raf'* of the *tā'* (i.e., *taşrifi r-riyāhi 'āyātun, min dābbatin 'āyātun*).

6: Ibn 'Āmir, 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i wa-'āyātihī tu'imūna with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yu'/ūminūna*).

11: *min riğzin 'alīmu/in* has already been mentioned.³⁷⁰

14: 'Abū 'Amr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *li-nağziya qawman* with *nūn* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yağziya*).

21: Ḥafş, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *sawā'an maḥyā/ēhum* with *naşb* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *sawā'un*).^(P:198)

23: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *ğaşwatan* with *fathah* on the *ğayn* and no vowel on the *şin*. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *ğayn*, *fathah* on the *şin* and with 'alif after it (i.e., *ğişāwatan*).

32: Ḥamzah reads *wa-s-sā'ata lā rayba fihā* with *naşb* and the rest with *raf'*.

35: *lā yuḥrağūna/yaḥruğūna* has already been mentioned.³⁷¹

There are no yā's at all.

³⁷⁰ See F.34:5.

³⁷¹ See F.30:19.

F.46. Sūrat al-'Aḥqāf

12: Nāfi', al-Bazzī, with some disagreement, and Ibn 'Āmir read *li-tunḍira llaḍīna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *li-yunḍira*).

15: The Kufans read *bi-wālidayhi 'iḥsānan* with a *hamzah* that carries a *kasrah*, without vowel on the *ḥā'*, with *fathah* on the *sīn* and with an 'alif after it. The rest read *ḥusnan* with *ḍammah* on the *ḥā'* and no vowel on the *sīn* without 'alif.³⁷²

The Kufans and Ibn Ḍakwān read *kurhan* in two places (in this verse) with *ḍammah* on the *kāf* and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *karhan*).

16: Ḥaḥṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *nataqabbalu 'anhum 'aḥsana mā 'amilū wa-nataḡāwazu* with *nūn* on both, with both carrying a *fathah* and with *naṣb* of the *nūn* of 'aḥsana. The rest read it with *yā'* that carries a *ḍammah* on both words and with *raf'* of the *nūn* of 'aḥsanu (i.e., *yutaqabbalu 'anhum(ū) 'aḥsanu mā 'amilū wa-yutaḡāwazu*).

17: 'uffu/i/a(n) *lakumā* has already been mentioned.³⁷³

Hišām reads 'a-ta'idānnī with a single geminated *nūn* and the rest with two *nūns*, both carrying a *kasrah* (i.e., 'a-ta'idāninī).

19: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr, 'Āṣim and Hišām read *wa-li-yuwaffiyahum(ū)* with *yā'* and the rest read it with *nūn* (i.e., *wa-li-nuwaffiyahum*).

20: Ibn Ḍakwān reads 'a-'aḍḥabtum with two fully pronounced *hamzahs* without length. Ibn Kaṭīr and Hišām read it with *hamzah* and length, and Hišām stretches it in terms of length (i.e., Ibn Kaṭīr 'a-.aḍḥabtumū, Hišām 'ā-.aḍḥabtum) according to his general principle.³⁷⁴ The rest read it with a single *hamzah* without length as a declarative (i.e., 'aḍḥabtum).^(P:199)

25: 'Āṣim and Ḥamzah read *lā yurā/ē* with a *yā'* that carries a *ḍammah* and 'illā *masākinuhum* with *raf'*. The rest read it with a *tā'* that carries a *fathah* and with *naṣb* (i.e., *lā yarā/ē/ā 'illā masākinahum(ū)*).

23: *wa-'uballigukum(ū)/'ubligukum* has already been mentioned.³⁷⁵

³⁷² This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 142).

³⁷³ See F.17:23.

³⁷⁴ With the reference to the general principle, it seems clear that the intention of *madd* 'length' in this description refers to the *bayna bayn* realisation of *hamzah* rather than 'ā. See U.11.1. for the description.

³⁷⁵ See F.7:62.

F.46.1. [Yā's of Q46]

There are four yā's:

1. 'awzi'niya 'an 'aškura (Q46:15) with *fathah* by Warš and al-Bazzī.
2. 'a-ta'idāniniya 'an (Q46:17) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities.
3. 'inniya 'aḥāfu (Q46:21) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and 'Abū 'Amr.
4. wa-lākinniya 'arā/ēkum(ū) (Q46:23) with *fathah* by Nāfi', al-Bazzī and 'Abū 'Amr.

F.47. Sūrat Muḥammad (s)

4: Ḥafṣ and 'Abū 'Amr read *wa-llaḏīna qutīlū* with *ḍammah* on the *qāf* and *kasrah* on the *tā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on both, with an 'alif between them (i.e., *qātalū*).

15: Ibn Kaṭīr reads 'asinin with shortness and the rest with length (i.e., 'āsinin).

16: Muḥammad b. 'Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Baḡdādī related to us, saying that Ibn Muḡāhid related to us, saying that Muḍar b. Muḥammad related to us from al-Bazzī with his 'isnād back to Ibn Kaṭīr that he said 'anifan with shortness, and this is how I recited it in the transmission of 'Abū Rabī'ah from him to 'Abū al-Faṭḥ.³⁷⁶ But I read it to ['Abd al-'Azīz b. Ġa'far] al-Fārisī in his ('Abū Rabī'ah's) transmission with length (i.e., 'ānifan). I recited it likewise in the transmission of al-Ḥuzā'ī³⁷⁷ and others from him, and this is what I adopt.

22: *fa-hal 'asaytum(ū) / 'asitum* has already been mentioned.³⁷⁸ (P:200)

25: 'Abū 'Amr recites *wa-'umliya lahum* with *ḍammah* on the *hamzah*, *kasrah* on the *lām* and *fathah* on the *yā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *hamzah* and the *lām* (i.e., *wa-'amlā/ē/ā*).

26: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read 'isrārahum with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., 'asrārahum(ū)).

³⁷⁶ This *tilāwah* 'isnād is not mentioned in U.4.2.2. but it is present in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* and indeed also reported by Ibn Muḡāhid via Muḍar b. Muḥammad. In the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* Muḍar is not mentioned, and the variant 'anifan is attributed to an imprecision in the wording in a book by al-Bazzī on the reading of Ibn Kaṭīr (al-Dānī 2007, 308, 1591; Ibn Muḡāhid 1972, 600).

³⁷⁷ This transmission does not occur in the 'isnād section, but it is mentioned in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 309–10).

³⁷⁸ See F.2:246.

31: 'Abū Bakr reads *wa-li-yabluwannakum ḥattā ya'lama* and *yabluwa* with *yā'* for all three; the rest read them with *nūn* (i.e., *wa-li-nabluwannakum(ū) ḥattā na'lama, nabluwa*).

35: 'Abū Bakr and Ḥamzah said *wa-tad'ū 'ilā s-silmi* with *kasrah* on the *sin* and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *as-salmi*).

F.48. Sūrat al-Fath

6: I have already mentioned *dā'iratu s-sū'i/saw'i*³⁷⁹ and *'alayhu llāhu/'alayhi llāhu* (Q48:10).³⁸⁰

9: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *li-yu'/ūminū bi-llāhi wa-rasūlihī wa-yu'azzirūhu wa-yu-waqqirūhu wa-yusabbihūhu* with *yā'* in all four and the rest read them with *tā'* (i.e., *li-tu'/ūminū bi-llāhi wa-rasūlihī wa-tu'azzirūhu wa-tuwaqqirūhu wa-tusabbihūhu*).

10: The two of the holy cities and Ibn 'Āmir read *fa-sa-nu'/ūtīhi* with *nūn* and the rest read it with *yā'* (i.e., *fa-sa-yu'/ūtīhi*).

11: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *bikum ḍurran* with *ḍammah* on the *ḍād* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *ḍarran*).

15: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *kalima llāhi* with *kasrah* on the *lām*; the rest read it with *fathah* and an *'alif* after it (i.e., *kalāma*).

17: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *nudḥilhu* and *nu'addibhu* with *nūn* on both. The rest read them with *yā'* (i.e., *yudḥilhū, yu'addibhū*).

24: 'Abū 'Amr reads *bimā ya'lamūna baṣīran* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *ta'lamūna*).^(P:201)

29: Ibn Kaṭīr and Ibn Ḍakwān read *ṣaṭa'ahū* with vowel on the *ṭā'* and the rest without a vowel (i.e., *ṣaṭ'ahū*).

Ibn Ḍakwān reads *fa-'azarahū* with shortness and the rest with length (i.e., *fa-'āzarahū*).

'alā su'qihī/su'ūqihī/sūqihī has already been mentioned.³⁸¹

³⁷⁹ See F.9:98.

³⁸⁰ See F.17:63.

³⁸¹ See F.27:44.

F.49. Sūrat al-Ḥuḡurāt

6: *fa-taṭabbatū/fa-tabayyanū*,³⁸² *laḥma ʾaḥīhī may(yi)tan* (Q49:12)³⁸³ and the *tā*'s of al-Bazzī (Q49:11, 12, 13)³⁸⁴ have already been mentioned before.

14: ʾAbū ʿAmr reads *yaʾlitkum* with *hamzah* without a vowel after the *yā*' and, when he softens it, he replaces it with *ʾalif* (i.e., *yālitkum*). The rest read it without *hamzah* or *ʾalif* (i.e., *yalitkum(ū)*).

18: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *baṣīrun bimā yaʿlamūna* with *yā*' and the rest with *tā*' (i.e., *taʿlamūna*).

F.50. Sūrat Qāf

30: Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū Bakr read *yawma yaqūlu* with *yā*' and the rest read it with *nūn* (i.e., *naqūlu*).

32: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *hādā mā yūʿadūna* with *yā*' and the rest with *tā*' (i.e., *tūʿadūna*).

40: The two of the holy cities and Ḥamzah read *wa-ʾidbāra s-suḡūdi* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *wa-ʾadbāra*).

44: *yawma taš(š)aqqaqu l-(ʿ)arḍu* has already been mentioned.³⁸⁵

F.50.1. [Removed *yā*'s of Q50]

There are three removed ones:³⁸⁶

1. *waʿīdī // ʾa-faʿī ʾa-faʿayīnā* (Q50:14–15) and
2. *man yaḥāfu waʿīdī* (Q50:45) with retention (of the *yā*') in connected speech by Warš.
3. *al-munādī min* (Q50:41) with retention (of the *yā*') in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr, and retention (of the *yā*') in connected speech by Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿAmr.

³⁸² See F.4:94.

³⁸³ See F.6:122.

³⁸⁴ See F.2:267.

³⁸⁵ See F.25:25.

³⁸⁶ Despite the text clearly saying there are three removed *yā*'s, al-Dānī lists four.

4. Al-Naqqāš, transmitting from 'Abū Rabī'ah from al-Bazzī, and Ibn Muğāhid, transmitting from Qunbul, say that *yunādī*# (Q50:41) is read with *yā'* in pause. The rest pause on it without *yā'* (*yunād*#).^(P:202)

F.51. Sūrat Wa-l-Dāriyāt

23: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *miṭlu mā 'annakum* with *raf'* of the *lām* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *miṭla*).

25: *qāla salāmun/silmun* has already been mentioned.³⁸⁷

44:³⁸⁸ Al-Kisā'i reads *fa-'aḥadathumu ṣ-ṣa'qatun* without a vowel on the 'ayn and without 'alif. The rest read it with 'alif and *kasrah* on the 'ayn (i.e., *ṣ-ṣā'iqatun*).

46: 'Abū 'Amr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-qawmi nūḥin* with *ḥafḍ* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *wa-qawma*).

F.52. Sūrat al-Tūr

21: 'Abū 'Amr reads *wa-'atba'nāhum* with 'alif *al-qaṭ'* and without a vowel on both the *tā'* and the 'ayn, and with *nūn* and an 'alif after the *nūn*. The rest read it with 'alif *al-waṣl* with *fathah* on both the *tā'* and the 'ayn, and with *tā'* without a vowel after the 'ayn (i.e., *wa-ttaba'athum(ū)*).

Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū 'Amr read *ḍurriyyātu/ihu/im bi-'imāni* in the plural. Ibn 'Āmir places *ḍammah* on the *tā'* (i.e., *ḍurriyyātuhum*) and 'Abū 'Amr places *kasrah* on it (i.e., *ḍurriyyātihim*). The rest read it in the singular with *raf'* of the *tā'* (i.e., *ḍurriyyatuhum(ū)*).

Ibn Kaṭīr reads *wa-mā 'a-litnāhumū* with *kasrah* on the *lām* and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., 'a-latnāhūm).

23: *lā laḡwun/a fīhā wa-lā ta'tīmun* has already been mentioned.³⁸⁹

28: Nāfi' and al-Kisā'i read 'annahū *huwa l-barru* with *fathah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., 'innahū).^(P:203)

³⁸⁷ See F.11:69.

³⁸⁸ Pretzl has 45; this is a mistake.

³⁸⁹ See F.2:254.

37: Qunbul, Ḥaḥṣ, with some disagreement, and Hišām read *al-musayṭirūna* with *sin*. Ḥamzah, with disagreement in the transmission of Ḥallād, reads it between the *ṣād* and the *zāy* (i.e., *al-muṣayṭirūna*). The rest read it with pure *ṣād* (i.e., *al-muṣayṭirūna*).

45: ʿĀsim and Ibn ʿĀmir read *fīhi yuṣʿaqūna* with *ḍammah* on the *yāʾ* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *yaṣʿaqūna*).

F.53. Sūrat al-Nağm

1: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read the ends of the verses of this *sūrah* from His speech *ʾidā hawē* (Q53:1) up until His speech *min an-nuḍuri l-ʾulē* (Q53:50) with *ʾimālah*. ʾAbū ʿAmr applies *ʾimālah* to whichever of these has *rāʾ* in it (e.g., *al-ʾuḥrē* Q53:47), and what remains in between (e.g., *al-ʾulā* Q53:50). Warš made all of them in between (i.e., *hawā, al-ʾuḥrā, al-ʾulā*). The rest pronounced it with pure *fathah* (i.e., *hawā, al-ʾuḥrā* etc.).

11: Hišām reads *mā kaḍḍaba l-fuʾādu* with gemination of the *dāl* and the rest without gemination (i.e., *kaḍaba*).

12: Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *ʾa-fa-tamrūnahū* with *fathah* on the *tāʾ* and without a vowel on the *mīm*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *tāʾ*, *fathah* on the *mīm* and with *ʾalif* after it (i.e., *ʾa-fa-tumārūnahū*).

20: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *wa-manāʾata* with length and *hamzah*. The rest read it without length and without *hamzah* (i.e., *wa-manāta*).

22: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *wa-ḍiʿzā* with *hamzah* and the rest without *hamzah* (i.e., *wa-ḍizā/ē/ā*).

32: *kabīra/kabāʾira l-ʾiṭmi*,³⁹⁰ *fī buṭūni ʾu/immi/ahātikum(ū)*,³⁹¹ *an-naš(ā)ʾata* (Q53:47)³⁹² have already been mentioned.

50: Nāfiʿ and ʾAbū ʿAmr read *ʿadal-lū/uʾlā/ā* with *ḍammah* on the *lām*, for the vowel of the *hamzah* (which has been dropped) and assimilation of the *nūn* to it (i.e., *ʿadal-lūlā*). For Qālūn, after the *ḍammah* of the *lām* comes a *hamzah* without vowel in place of the *wāw* (i.e., *ʿadal-luʾlā*). The rest applies *kasrah* to the *tanwīn*, no vowel to the *lām* and fully pronounce the *hamzah* after it (i.e., *ʿadan il-ʾulā/ē*).^(P:204)

³⁹⁰ See F.42:37.

³⁹¹ See F.4:11.

³⁹² See F.29:20.

Upon starting on the word *al-ʾulā*, three options are allowed for ʾAbū ʿAmr. The first of these is #ʾalūlā with retention of the *hamzat al-waṣl* with *ḍammah* on the *lām* after it. The second is *lūlā* with *ḍammah* on the *lām* with removal of the *hamzat al-waṣl* before it, as there is no need for this (epenthetic) vowel. These two options are both allowed and this is similar in the manner of Warš. The third option is #*al-ʾulā* with the addition of *hamzat al-waṣl*, no vowel on the *lām* and pronunciation of the *hamzah* as the first root letter after it.

In the manner of Qālūn there are also three options: #ʾaluʾlā with *ḍammah* on the *lām* and retention of the *hamzat al-waṣl* and with *hamzah* without vowel in place of the *wāw*, #luʾlā with *ḍammah* on the *lām*, removal of the *hamzat al-waṣl* and *hamzah* on the *wāw*, and #ʾal-ʾulā like the third option of ʾAbū ʿAmr. To me this is the best of these options and the most regular in their manners. I explain the reason why that is the case in *Kitāb al-tamhīd*.³⁹³

51: ʿAṣim and Ḥamzah read *wa-ṭamūda fa-mā* without *tanwīn* and when pausing upon it without ʾalif (i.e., *wa-ṭamūd#*). The rest read it with *tanwīn* (i.e., *wa-ṭamūdan*) and when pausing on it with ʾalif (i.e., *wa-ṭamūdā#*).

F.54. Sūrat al-Qamar

6: Ibn Kaṭīr reads ʾilā šayʾin *nukrin* with no vowel on the *kāf* and the rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *nukurin*).

7: ʾAbū ʿAmr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *ḥāšīʿan* with *fathah* on the *ḥāʾ*, with ʾalif after it and with *kasrah* on the *šīn*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *ḥāʾ* and *fathah* on a geminate *šīn* (i.e., *ḥuṣṣaʿan*).

11: *fa-fat(t)aḥnā* has already been mentioned.^{394 (P:205)}

26: Ibn ʿĀmir and Ḥamzah read *sa-taʿlamūna ḡadan* with *tāʾ* and the rest with *yāʾ* (i.e., *sa-yaʿlamūna*).

³⁹³ This work by al-Dānī is known by its full title, *Kitāb al-tamhīd fī qirāʾat Nāfiʿ*, but it has not yet been published (al-Dānī 1995, 16).

³⁹⁴ See F.6:44.

F.54.1. [Removed *yā*'s of Q54]

There are eight removed ones:

1. *yad'u d-dā'i* (Q54:6) with retention (of the *yā*') in both connected speech and pause by al-Bazzī, and with retention (of the *yā*') in connected speech by Warš and 'Abū 'Amr.
2. *'ilā d-dā'i* (Q54:8) with retention in both connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr, and with retention in connected speech by Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr.
3. *'aḍābī wa-nuḍurī* in six places (Q54:16,
4. 18,
5. 21,
6. 30,
7. 37,
8. 39) with retention in connected speech by Warš alone.

F.55. Sūrat al-Raḥmān

12: Ibn 'Āmir reads *wa-l-ḥabba ḍā l-ʿaṣfī wa-r-rayḥāna* with *naṣb* of the three nouns. Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-r-rayḥāni* with *ḥafḍ* and what remains with *rafʿ* (i.e., *wa-l-ḥabbu ḍū l-ʿaṣfī wa-r-rayḥāni*). The rest read all three with *rafʿ* (i.e., *wa-l-ḥabbu ḍū l-ʿaṣfī wa-r-rayḥānu*).³⁹⁵

22: Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr read *yuhraḡu minhumā* with *ḍammah* on the *yā*' and *fathah* on the *rā*'. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *yā*' and *ḍammah* on the *rā*' (i.e., *yahruḡu*).

24: Ḥamzah and 'Abū Bakr, with some disagreement, read *al-munši'ātu* with *kasrah* on the *šin*, and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *al-munša'ātu*).³⁹⁶

31: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *sa-yafruḡu* with *yā*', and the rest with *nūn* (i.e., *sa-nafruḡu*).
'ayyuha/u *ṭ-ṭaqalāni* has already been mentioned.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 142).

³⁹⁶ Spelled المنشات in modern print editions, but in early Qur'ānic manuscripts consistently spelled as المنشيت, a spelling that supports the minority reading better than the majority reading (van Putten 2022a, 315).

³⁹⁷ See F.24:31.

35: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *šiwāḍun* with *kasrah* on the *šin* and the rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *šuwāḍun*).

Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *wa-nuḥāsīn* with *ḥafḍ*, and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *wa-nuḥāsūn*).^(P:206)

56: 'Abū 'Umar [al-Dūrī], transmitting from al-Kisā'i, reads *lam yaṭmiḥunna* in the first attestation with *ḍammah* on the *mīm* and 'Abū al-Ḥārīṭ transmitting from him (al-Kisā'i) for the second (Q55:74), and that is my recitation. But what 'Abū al-Ḥārīṭ transmits textually is like the transmission of al-Dūrī.³⁹⁸ The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *mīm* for both (i.e., *yaṭmiḥunna*).

78: Ibn 'Āmir reads *ḍū l-ḡalālī* at the end (i.e., as opposed to the one at Q55:27) with *wāw* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *ḍī l-ḡalālī*).³⁹⁹

F.56. Sūrat al-Wāqī'ah

19: The Kufans read *wa-lā yunzifūna* with *kasrah* on the *zāy* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *yunzafūna*).

22: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-ḥūrīn 'īnin* with *ḥafḍ* of both and the rest read it with *raf'* of both (i.e., *wa-ḥūrun 'īnun*).

37: 'Abū Bakr and Ḥamzah read *'urban* with no vowel on the *rā'* and the rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *'uruban*).

47: The two interrogatives have already been mentioned in al-Ra'd,⁴⁰⁰ except that Nāfi' and al-Kisā'i read the first of the two as an interrogative and the second as a declarative. The rest read both as interrogatives, and they follow their principles in terms of pronouncing fully (the *hamzah*) or softening it.

'aw(a) 'ābā'unā has already been mentioned.⁴⁰¹

55: Nāfi', 'Āṣim and Ḥamzah read *šurba l-hīmi* with *ḍammah* on the *šin* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *šarba*).

³⁹⁸ This opinion is transmitted through a *riwāyah* 'isnād for 'Abū al-Ḥārīṭ that is absent in the *Taysīr*; see Ḡāmi' al-bayān (al-Dānī 2007, 1622).

³⁹⁹ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 142).

⁴⁰⁰ See F.13:5.

⁴⁰¹ See F.37:17.

60: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *naḥnu qadarnā* without gemination of the *dāl* and the rest with gemination (i.e., *qaddarnā*).

62: *an-naš(ā)'ata* had already been mentioned.⁴⁰²

66: 'Abū Bakr reads 'a'innā *la-muğrimūna* with two *hamzahs* and the rest with a single *hamzah* that carries a *kasrah* (i.e., 'innā).

75: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *bi-mawqī'i* with no vowel on the *wāw* without 'alif. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *wāw* and the 'alif after it (i.e., *bi-mawāqī'i*).^(P:207)

F.57. Sūrat al-Ḥadīd

8: 'Abū 'Amr reads *wa-qad 'uḥida* with *ḍammah* on the *hamzah*, *kasrah* on the *ḥā'*, and *miṭāqukum* with *raf'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *hamzah*, with *ḥā'* and with *naṣb* (i.e., *wa-qad 'aḥadā miṭāqakum(ū)*).

10: Ibn 'Āmir reads *wa-kullun wa'ada lāhu* with *raf'*. The rest read it with *naṣb* (i.e., *kullan*).⁴⁰³

11: *fa-yudā'ifahū/fa-yuḍa'ifahū* has already been mentioned.⁴⁰⁴

13: Ḥamzah reads *li-llaḍīna 'āmanū 'anḍirūnā* with *hamzat al-qat'* and *fathah* both when starting on it and in connected speech (*fī l-ḥālayn*), and *kasrah* on the *ḍā'*. The rest read it with 'alif *al-waṣl* and, if they start on it, with *ḍammah* and with *ḍammah* on the *ḍā'* (i.e., *unḍurūnā*).

15: Ibn 'Āmir reads *lā tu'ḥadu* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yu'/ūḥadu*).

16: Nāfi' and Ḥafṣ read *wa-mā nazala* without gemination and the rest with gemination (i.e., *nazzala*).

18: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū Bakr read *al-muṣaddaqīna wa-l-muṣaddaqāti* without gemination of the *ṣād* of both and the rest read them with gemination of both (i.e., *al-muṣṣaddaqīna wa-l-muṣṣaddaqāti*).

23: 'Abū 'Amr reads *bi-mā 'atākum* with shortness and the rest with length (i.e., 'atā/ē/ākum(ū)).

⁴⁰² See F.29:20.

⁴⁰³ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 147).

⁴⁰⁴ See F.2:245.

24: *bi-l-buḥli/baḥal*⁴⁰⁵ and *ri/uḍwāni* (Q57:27)⁴⁰⁶ have already been mentioned.

Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *fa-'inna llāha l-ġaniyyu* without *huwa*, and the rest read it with the addition of *huwa* (i.e., *fa-'inna llāha huwa l-ġaniyyu*).⁴⁰⁷

F.58. Sūrat al-Muḡāḍalah

2: 'Āṣim reads *yudāhirūna* in two places (here and in Q58:3) with *ḍammah*, without gemination of the *ḍā'*, with 'alif after it and *kasrah* on the *hā'*. Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read it with *fathah* on the *yā'* and the *hā'*, and gemination of the *ḍā'* with 'alif after it (i.e., *yaḍḍāharūna*). The rest read it with gemination of the *ḍā'* and the *hā'*, with *fathah* on the *yā'* and without 'alif (i.e., *yaḍḍahharūna*).^(P:208)

8: Ḥamzah reads *wa-yantaḡūna* with a *nūn* that does not carry a vowel after the *yā'* and with *ḍammah* on the *ḡim*. The rest read it with a *tā'* that carries a *fathah* between the *yā'* and the *nūn*, with 'alif after the *nūn* and *fathah* on the *ḡim* (i.e., *yatanāḡawna*).

11: 'Āṣim reads *fī l-maḡālisi* with 'alif in the plural and the rest without 'alif in the singular (i.e., *al-maḡlisi*).

Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir and 'Āṣim, with disagreement in transmission from 'Abū Bakr, read *unšuzū fa-nšuzū* with *ḍammah* on the *šin* for both and, when starting on it, with *ḍammah* on the 'alif (i.e., #*unšuzū*). The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *šin* and, when starting on it, with *kasrah* on the 'alif (i.e., #*inšizū, fa-nšizū*). I have recited it with this option for 'Abū Bakr in the path of al-Ṣarīfīnī transmitting from Yaḥyā [b. 'Ādam] from him for both (words).⁴⁰⁸

F.58.1. [Yā' of Q58]

There is one *yā'*: *wa-rusuliya 'inna llāha* (Q58:21) with *fathah* by Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir.

⁴⁰⁵ See F.4:37.

⁴⁰⁶ See F.3:15.

⁴⁰⁷ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 142).

⁴⁰⁸ This is the *tilāwah* 'isnād listed in U.4.5.1. But the reading *unšuzū fa-nšuzū* is not transmitted along the *riwāyah* 'isnād listed in that section; see *Ġāmi' al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 1632).

F.59. Sūrat al-Ḥaṣr

2: 'Abū 'Amr reads *yuharribūna* with gemination and the rest without gemination (i.e., *yuhribūna*).

ar-ru'(u)ba has already been mentioned.⁴⁰⁹

7: Hišām reads *kay lā takūna* with *tā'*—it was also transmitted from him with *yā'* (i.e., *kay lā yakūna*)—and *dūlatun* with *raf'* (with both options). The rest read it with *yā'* and with *naṣb* (i.e., *kay lā yakūna dūlatan*).

14: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *ḡidā/ērin* with *kasra* on the *ḡīm* and 'alif after the *dāl*, and 'Abū 'Amr applies 'imālah to the *fathah* of the *dāl* (i.e., *ḡidērin*).⁴¹⁰ The rest read *ḡudurin* with *ḍammah* on the *ḡīm* and *dāl*.

24: *al-bā/ēri'u* has already been mentioned in (the chapter on) 'imālah.⁴¹¹ (P:209)

F.59.1. [Yā' of Q59]

There is one *yā'*: 'innī 'aḥāfu (Q59:16) with no vowel by the Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir.

F.60. Sūrat al-Muttaḥanah

3: 'Āṣim reads *yafṣilu baynakum* with *fathah* on the *yā'*, no vowel on the *fā'* and *kasrah* on ungeminated *ṣād*. Ibn 'Āmir reads *yufaṣṣalu* with *ḍammah* on the *yā'*, *fathah* on the *fā'* and geminated *ṣād*. Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read it like that except that they place *kasrah* on the *ṣād* (i.e., *yufaṣṣilu*). The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *yā'*, no vowel on the *fā'* and *fathah* on ungeminated *ṣād* (i.e., *yufṣalu*).

4, 6: 'u/iswatun ḥasanatun in two places has already been mentioned.⁴¹²

10: 'Abū 'Amr reads *lā tumassikū* with gemination and the rest without gemination (i.e., *lā tumsikū*).

⁴⁰⁹ See F.3:151.

⁴¹⁰ In accordance with his general principle, see U.13.4.

⁴¹¹ See U.13.2.

⁴¹² See U.33:21.

F.61. Sūrat al-Šaff

6: I have already mentioned *hādā sāḥirun/siḥrun*.⁴¹³

8: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read *mutimmu* without *tanwīn* and *nūriḥi* with *ḥafḍ*. The rest read it with *tanwīn* and *naṣb* (i.e., *mutimmun nūrahū*).

10: Ibn 'Āmir reads *tunağğikum* with gemination and the rest without gemination (i.e., *tunğğikum(ū)*).

14: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *'anṣāra llāhi* without *tanwīn* and without *lām*. The rest read it with *tanwīn* and with a *lām* that carries a *kasrah* at the beginning of the name of God Almighty (i.e., *'anṣāran li-llāhi*).⁴¹⁴

F.61.1. [Yā's of Q61]

There are two *yā's*:

1. *min ba'di smuhū* (Q61:6) without a vowel by Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī.
2. *min 'anṣāriya 'ilā llāhi* (Q61:14) with *fathah* by Nāfi'.^(P:210)

F.62. There Is No Disagreement in Sūrat al-Ğumu'ah

Except for what has preceded about *'imālah* and such.

F.63. Sūrat al-Munāfiqūn

4: Qunbul, 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'ī read *ḥuṣbun* with no vowel on the *šin* and the rest read it with *ḍammah* (i.e., *ḥuṣubun*).

5: Nāfi' reads *lawaw* with no gemination of the *wāw* and the rest with gemination (i.e., *lawwaw*).

10: 'Abū 'Amr reads *wa-'akūna* with *wāw* and *naṣb* of the *nūn*. The rest read it without *wāw* and with *ğazm* of the *nūn* (i.e., *wa-'akun*).⁴¹⁵

⁴¹³ See F.5:110.

⁴¹⁴ This represents a reanalysis of the position of the word boundary, which is ambiguous in the Arabic script, where originally the space between words and between non-connected letters was identical انصارالله.

⁴¹⁵ 'Abū 'Amr's reading disagrees with the *rasm* اكن.

11: 'Abū Bakr reads *bi-mā ya'malūna* at the end (i.e., not the one at Q63:2) with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *ta'malūna*).

F.64. Sūrat al-Taḡābun

9: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *nukaffir* 'anhu and *wa-nudḥilhu* with *nūn* in both and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yukaffir* 'anhū and *wa-yudḥilhū*).

17: We have already mentioned *yudā'ifhu/yudā'ifhu*.⁴¹⁶

F.65. Sūrat al-Ṭalāq

3: Ḥafṣ reads *bāliḡu* without *tanwīn* and 'amriḥī with *ḥafḍ*. The rest read it with *tanwīn* and *naṣb* of 'amrahū (i.e., *bāliḡun* 'amrahū).

1: *mubayyinatin*,⁴¹⁷ *wa-llā'ī* (Q65:4),⁴¹⁸ *nuk(u)ran* (Q65:8),⁴¹⁹ *mubayyinātin* (Q65:11)⁴²⁰ have already been mentioned.

11: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *nudḥilhu* with *nūn*, and the rest read it with *yā'* (i.e., *yudḥilhū*).^(P:211)

F.66. Sūrat al-Taḥrīm

3: Al-Kisā'ī reads 'arafa *ba'ḍahū* without gemination of the *rā'* and the rest with gemination (i.e., 'arafa).

4: *wa-'in taḍ(ḍ)āharā*,⁴²¹ *ḡibrīlu/ḡabrīlu/ḡabra'īlu/ḡabra'īlu*,⁴²² *yubdilahū/yubaddilahū*⁴²³ (Q66:5) have already been mentioned.

⁴¹⁶ See F.2:245.

⁴¹⁷ See F.4:19.

⁴¹⁸ See U.8.1.

⁴¹⁹ See F.18:74.

⁴²⁰ See F.24:34.

⁴²¹ See F.2:85.

⁴²² See F.2:97.

⁴²³ See F.18:81.

8: 'Abū Bakr reads *nuṣūḥan* with *ḍammah* on the *nūn* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *naṣūḥan*).

12: 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥafṣ read *wa-kutubihī* in the plural and the rest in the singular (i.e., *wa-kitābihī*).

F.67. Sūrat al-Mulk

3: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī read *min tafawwutin* with gemination of the *wāw* without 'alif. The rest read it with 'alif and without gemination of the *wāw* (i.e., *tafāwutin*).

11: Al-Kisā'ī reads *fa-suḥuqan* with *ḍammah* on the *ḥā'* and the rest without a vowel (i.e., *fa-suḥqan*).

15–16: Qunbul reads *an-nuṣūru* // *wa-.amintumū* with replacement of the *hamzah* of the interrogative with a *wāw* that carries a *fathah* in connected speech, and he lengthens what comes after with length equivalent to an 'alif (i.e., pronounced *bayna bayn*).

When he starts on it, he pronounces the *hamzah* fully (i.e., 'a-.*amintumū*). The Kūfans and Ibn Ḍakwān pronounce the two *hamzahs* fully (i.e., 'a-'*amintum*), and the rest soften the second (i.e., 'a-.*amintum*). Al-Bazzī, in accordance with his general principle, does not introduce an 'alif before it (i.e., 'a-.*amintumū*), and this is likewise for Warṣ in accordance with his principle (i.e., 'ā*mintum* or 'a-.*amintum*). The rest read it in accordance with their principles (i.e., 'ā-.*amintum*).⁴²⁴

27: *sī/ū'at* has already been mentioned.⁴²⁵

29: Al-Kisā'ī reads *fa-sa-ya'lamūna man huwa* with *yā'* and this is the last one (that occurs in this *sūrah*). The rest read it with *tā'* (i.e., *fa-sa-ta'lamūna*). There is no disagreement on the first (Q67:17, all read it *fa-sa-ta'lamūna*).^(P:212)

F.67.1. [Yā's of Q67]

There are two *yā's*:

1. 'in *'ahlaknī llāhu* (Q67:28) without a vowel by Ḥamzah.
2. *wa-man ma'ī 'aw* (Q67:28) without a vowel by 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'ī.

⁴²⁴ See U.11.1.

⁴²⁵ See F.11:77.

F.67.2. [Removed *yā*'s of Q67]

There are two removed ones:

1. *naḍīrī* (Q67:17) and
2. *nakīrī* (Q67:18) with retention (of the *yā*') in connected speech by Warš.

F.68. Sūrat Nūn al-Qalam

1: We have already mentioned the non-assimilation and assimilation of *nūn wa-l-qalamī*/*nūw̃wa-l-qalamī*.⁴²⁶

14: 'Abū Bakr and Ḥamzah read 'a-'*an kāna* with two *hamzahs* pronounced fully. Ibn 'Āmir reads it with *hamzah* and length (i.e., 'ā-.*an kāna*). Ibn Ḍakwān is different from Hišām in terms of lengthening and that is why we have mentioned it in *Fuṣṣilat*⁴²⁷ (i.e., Ibn Ḍakwān: 'ā-.*an kāna* and Hišām: 'a-.*an kāna*). The rest read it with a single *hamzah* that carries a *fathah*, as a declarative (i.e., 'an).

32: 'an *yubdilanā/yubaddilanā* has already been mentioned.⁴²⁸

51: Nāfi' reads *la-yazliqūnaka* with *fathah* and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *yuzliqūnaka*).

F.69. Sūrat al-Ḥāqqah

9:⁴²⁹ 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i read *wa-man qibalahū* with *kasrah* on the *qāf* and *fathah* on the *bā*'. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *qāf* and no vowel on the *bā*' (i.e., *qablahū*).

12: 'uḍ(u)*nun wā'iyatun* has already been mentioned.⁴³⁰

All of them read *wa-ta'iyahā* with *kasrah* on the 'ayn, *fathah* on the *yā*' and no gemination. However, some reports from Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Āṣim and Ḥamzah about that are incorrect.⁴³¹

⁴²⁶ See F.36:1.

⁴²⁷ See F.41:44.

⁴²⁸ See F.18:81.

⁴²⁹ Pretzl erroneously has 8.

⁴³⁰ See F.5:45.

⁴³¹ While not explicit, the incorrect readings al-Dānī is referring to are *ta'yahā* (Ibn Kaṭīr), *ta'iyahā* ('Āṣim) and *ta'yahā* (Ḥamzah) (al-Dānī 2007, 1652–54).

18: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *lā yahfē minkum* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *taḥfā/ā*).^(P:213)

28, 29: Ḥamzah reads *'annī māliya* and *'annī sulṭāniya* with removal of the *hā'* in connected speech, and the rest read it with retention in both connected speech and pause (i.e., *māliyah(#)*, *sulṭāniyah(#)*).

41, 42: Ibn Kaṭīr and Ibn 'Āmir read both *qalīlan mā yu'minūna* and *qalīlan mā yaḍḍakkarūna* with *yā'*. The rest read it with *tā'* (i.e., *tu'/ūminūna*, *ta(ḍ)ḍakkarūna*), and al-Naqqāš said it was transmitted from al-'Aḥfaš from Ibn Ḍakwān like that (i.e., with *tā'*).

F.70. Sūrat al-Ma'āriḡ

1: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *sāla* with *'alif* without a vowel replacing the *hamzah* and the replacement is received by audition (as it is irregular, the regular form would be *sa.ala*).⁴³² The rest read it with *hamzah* (i.e., *sa'ala*). Ḥamzah makes it in between in pause (i.e., *sa.al#*).

4: Al-Kisā'i reads *ya'ruḡu* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *ta'ruḡu*).

11: Nāfi' and al-Kisā'i read *min 'aḍābi yawma'idīn* with *fathah* on the *mīm* and the rest with *ḥafḍ* (i.e., *min 'aḍābi yawmi'idīn*).

15: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i apply *'imālah* to *laḍē*, *li-š-šawē* (Q70:16), *wa-tawallē* (Q70:17) and *fa-'aw'ē* (Q70:18) in accordance with their general principles.⁴³³ Warš and 'Abū 'Amr read it in between (i.e., *laḍā*, etc.) and the rest read it with the pure pronunciation of the *fathah* (i.e., *laḍā*, etc.).

16: Ḥaḥṣ reads *nazzā'atan* with *naṣb* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *nazzā'atun*).

32: *li-'amāna/ātihim* has already been mentioned.⁴³⁴

33: Ḥaḥṣ reads *bi-šahādātihim* with *'alif* as a plural and the rest without *'alif* (i.e., *bi-šahādātihim(ū)*).

43: Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥaḥṣ read *'ilā nuṣubin* with *ḍammah* on the *nūn* and the *šād*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *nūn* and no vowel on the *šād* (i.e., *naṣbin*).^(P:214)

⁴³² Cf. the similar wording in F.34:14. for the similarly irregular shift of *a'a* → *ā*, rather than the regular softening *a'a* → *a.a*.

⁴³³ See U.13.

⁴³⁴ See F.23:8.

F.71. Sūrat Nūḥ (s)

21: Nāfiʿ, ʿĀṣim and Ibn ʿĀmir read *wa-waladuhū* with *fathah* on the *wāw* and the *lām*. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *wāw* and no vowel on the *lām* (i.e., *wa-wulduhū*).

23: Nāfiʿ reads *wuddan* with *ḍammah* on the *wāw* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *waddan*).

25: ʿAbū ʿAmr reads *mimmā ḥaṭāyāhum* like the word *qaḍāyāhum* and the rest read it with *yāʾ*, *tāʾ* and *hamzah* (i.e., *ḥaṭīʾātihim(ū)*).

F.71.1. [Yāʾs of Q71]

There are three *yāʾ*s:

1. *duʿāʾi ʾillā* (Q71:6) without vowel by the Kufans.
2. *ṭumma ʾinnī ʾaʿlantu* (Q71:9) without vowel by the Kufans and Ibn ʿĀmir.
3. *baytiya muʾminan* (Q71:28) with *fathah* by Ḥafṣ and Hišām.

F.72. Sūrat al-Ğinn

3–14: Ibn ʿĀmir, Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī read *fathah* on the *hamzah* of *wa-ʾannahū*, *wa-ʾannā*, *wa-ʾannahum* from the words of the Almighty *wa-ʾannahū taʿālē/ā ǧaddu rabbīnā* (Q72:4) up until His words *wa-ʾannā minnā l-muslimūna*, at the beginning of each verse. The rest read them with *kasrah* (i.e., *wa-ʾinnahū*, *wa-ʾinnā* and *wa-ʾinnahum(ū)*).

17: The Kufans read *yaslukhu* with *yāʾ* and the rest with *nūn* (i.e., *naslukhū*).

19: Nāfiʿ and ʿAbū Bakr read *wa-ʾinnahū lammā* with *kasrah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *wa-ʾannahū*).

Hišām reads *ʿalayhi lubadan* with *ḍammah* on the *lām* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *libadan*).

20: ʿĀṣim and Ḥamzah read *qul ʾinnamā ʾadʿū* without *ʾalif* and the rest read *qāla* with *ʾalif*.

F.72.1. [Yāʾ of Q72]

There is one *yāʾ*: *rabbīya ʾamadan* (Q72:25) with *fathah* by the two of the holy cities and ʿAbū ʿAmr.^(P:215)

F.73. Sūrat al-Muzzammil

6: 'Abū 'Amr and Ibn 'Āmir read *'ašaddu wiṭā'an* with *kasrah* on the *wāw* and *fathah* on the *ṭā'* with length. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *wāw* and no vowel on the *ṭā'* (i.e., *waṭ'an*).

9: 'Abū Bakr, Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *rabbi l-mašriqi* with *ḥafḍ* of the *bā'* and the rest with *raf'* (i.e., *rabbu*).

20: Hišām reads *min tulṭay il-layli* without vowel on the *lām* and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *tuluṭay*).

The Kufans and Ibn Kaṭīr read *wa-niṣfahū wa-tuluṭahū* with *naṣb* of the *fā'* and the *ṭā'*. The rest read it with *ḥafḍ* of both (i.e., *wa-niṣfiḥi wa-tuluṭihī*).

F.74. Sūrat al-Muddaṭṭir

5: Ḥafṣ reads *wa-r-ruḡza* with *ḍammah* on the *rā'* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *wa-r-riḡza*).

33: Nāfi', Ḥafṣ and Ḥamzah *wa-l-layli 'iḍ* with no vowel on the *ḍāl* and *'adbara* in the pattern *'af'ala*. The rest read *'iḍā* with *'alif* after the *ḍāl* and *dabara* in the pattern *fa'ala* (i.e., *'iḍā dabara*).⁴³⁵

50: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Āmir read *mustanfaratun* with *fathah* on the *fā'* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *mustanfiratun*).

56: Nāfi' reads *wa-mā taḍkurūna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yaḍkurūna*).

F.75. Sūrat al-Qiyāmah

1: Qunbul reads *la-'uqsimu bi-yawmi* without *'alif*, and al-Naqqāš transmits it like that from 'Abū Rabī'ah from al-Bazzī. The rest read it with *'alif* (i.e., *lā 'uqsimu*).⁴³⁶ There is no disagreement on the second (Q75:2, all read it *wa-lā 'uqsimu*).

⁴³⁵ This represents two different interpretations of the *rasm* اذادبر, where the place of the word boundary is ambiguous. In historical Arabic scripts the space between non-connected letters and word boundaries is identical.

⁴³⁶ This is the result of an unusual ancient orthographic practice of early Islamic Arabic where the asseverative *la-* may be written with a *ṣ* before a word that starts with a *hamzah*. Other cases of this are attested throughout the Qur'ān (see Q27:21 لا اذبحنه *la-'aḍbaḥannahū*). For a discussion on more

7: Nāfiʿ reads *fa-ʾidā baraqa* with *fathah* on the *rāʾ* and the rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *bariqa*).^(P:216)

20, 21: The Kufans and Nāfiʿ read *bal tuḥibbūna* and *wa-taḍarūna* with *tāʾ* and the rest with *yāʾ* (i.e., *yuḥibbūna*, *yaḍarūna*).

27: *man rāqin*⁴³⁷ and *sudan* (*sudē/ā/ā#* Q75:36)⁴³⁸ have already been mentioned.

37: Ḥafṣ reads *min maniyyin yumnā* with *yāʾ* and the rest with *tāʾ* (i.e., *tumnā/ē/ā*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʾī applied *ʾimālah* to all the ends of the verses of this *sūrah* from His speech *wa-lā ʾallē* (Q75:31) up until the end. Warṣ and ʾAbū ʿAmr pronounced it in between (*wa-lā ʾallā*, etc.). The rest read it with pure *fathah*.

F.76. Sūrat al-ʾInsān

4: Nāfiʿ, al-Kisāʾī, ʾAbū Bakr and Hišām read *salāsilan* with *tanwīn* and pause on it with an *ʾalif* replacing it (i.e., *salāsilā#*). The rest read it without *tanwīn* (i.e., *salāsila*). Ḥamzah, Qunbul and Ḥafṣ, in my recitation to ʾAbū al-Faṭḥ,⁴³⁹ pause on it without *ʾalif* (i.e., *salāsil#*). Al-Naqqāš says it is like that, transmitting from ʾAbū Rabīʿah from al-Bazzī and transmitting from al-ʾAḥfaṣ from Ibn Ḍakwān, and I recited it like that in their tradition to al-Fārisī. The rest pause upon it with the addition of an *ʾalif* to the *fathah* (i.e., *salāsilā#*).⁴⁴⁰

15–16: Nāfiʿ, al-Kisāʾī and ʾAbū Bakr read *qawārīran* // *qawārīran* both with *tanwīn* and, when they pause on either of these two, they do so with an *ʾalif* (i.e., *qawārīrā#*). Ibn Kaṭīr reads the first with *tanwīn* and pauses upon it with *ʾalif* (i.e., Q76:15 *qawārīran/qawārīrā#*) and he reads the second without *ʾalif* and pauses upon it without *ʾalif* (i.e., Q76:16 *qawārīra/qawārīr#*). The rest read it without *tanwīn* on either (i.e., *qawārīra*) and Ḥamzah pauses on both without *ʾalif* (i.e., *qawārīr#*). Hišām pauses upon them with a *ṣilah* of the *ʾalif* to the *fathah* (i.e., *qawārīrā#*).^(P:217) The rest—they are ʾAbū ʿAmr, Ḥafṣ, Ibn

forms like this in early Qurʾānic manuscripts as well as its use in early Christian Arabic, see van Putten 2022a, 249–50.

⁴³⁷ See F.18:1.

⁴³⁸ See U.13.

⁴³⁹ This transmission path is not included in U.4.5.2. It is present in the *Ġāmiʿ al-bayān* (al-Dānī 2007, 360–62).

⁴⁴⁰ The *rasm* of this word is سلسلا, as if the noun were a triptote.

Ḍakwān—pause on the first one with 'alif (i.e., Q76:15 *qawārīrā*#) and on the second without 'alif (i.e., Q76:16 *qawārīr*#).⁴⁴¹

So, one can surmise from this that whoever does not apply *tanwīn* pauses on the first with 'alif except Ḥamzah and (whoever does not apply *tanwīn* pauses) on the second without 'alif except Hišām.

21: Nāfi' and Ḥamzah read 'ālihim without a vowel on the *yā'* and with *kasrah* on the *hā'*. The rest read it with *fathah* on the *yā'* and *ḍammah* on the *hā'* (i.e., 'āliyahum(*ū*)).

Nāfi' and Ḥafṣ read both *ḥuḍrun wa-'istabraqun* with *raf'*. Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū Bakr read the first with *ḥafḍ* and the second with *raf'* (i.e., *ḥuḍrin wa-'istabraqun*). Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū 'Amr read the first with *raf'* and the second with *ḥafḍ* (i.e., *ḥuḍrun wa-'istabraqin*). Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read both with *ḥafḍ* (i.e., *ḥuḍrin wa-'istabraqin*).

30: The Kufans and Nāfi' read *wa-mā tašā'ūna* with *tā'* and the rest with *yā'* (i.e., *yašā'ūna*).

F.77. Sūrat al-Mursalāt

5: 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥallād read *fa-l-mulqiyād-dikran* and likewise *fa-l-muḡiraṣṣubḥan* (Q100:3) with assimilation and it has already been mentioned.⁴⁴²

6: The two of the holy cities, Ibn 'Āmir and 'Abū Bakr read *wa-nuḍuran* with *ḍammah* on the *dāl* and the rest read it without vowel (i.e., *wa-nuḍran*).

11: 'Abū 'Amr reads *wuqqitat* with *wāw* and the rest with *hamzah* (i.e., 'uqqitat).⁴⁴³

23: Nāfi' and al-Kisā'i read *fa-qaddarnā* with gemination of the *dāl* and the rest without gemination (i.e., *fa-qadarnā*).

33: Ḥafṣ, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *ḡimālātun* in the singular without 'alif and the rest read it with 'alif (i.e., *ḡimālātun*).^(P:218)

⁴⁴¹ Similar to the case in the previous footnote, the *rasm* of these words (قوارير) unexpectedly suggests a triptotic reading. Some reports on regional *rasm* variants suggest that the second instance is spelled without 'alif, i.e., قوارير. This seems to explain the differential treatment of the two verses in pause found with Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr, Ḥafṣ and Ibn Ḍakwān (Sidky 2020, 176–77).

⁴⁴² See F.37:1, 2, 3.

⁴⁴³ 'Abū 'Amr's reading disagrees with the *rasm* اقتت.

F.78.–F.89. From Sūrat al-Naba' to Sūrat al-Balad

[F.78. Al-Naba']

23: Ḥamzah reads *labiṭīna fihā* without 'alif, the rest with 'alif (i.e., *lābiṭīna*).

19: *wa-fut(t)iḥat is-samā'u*⁴⁴⁴ and *gas(s)āqan* (Q78:25)⁴⁴⁵ have already been mentioned.

35: Al-Kisā'i reads *wa-lā kiḏāban* without gemination of the *ḏāl* and the rest with gemination (i.e., *kiḏḏāban*). There is no disagreement on the first attestation (Q78:28, all read *kiḏḏāban*).

37: The Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir read *rabbī s-samāwāti* with *ḥafḏ*. 'Aṣim and Ibn 'Āmir read *wa-mā baynahumà r-raḥmāni* with *ḥafḏ*. The rest read the two nouns with *raf'* (i.e., *rabbu, r-raḥmānu*).

F.79. Wa-l-Nāzi'āti

10, 11: I have already mentioned about the two interrogatives in (the discussion in) al-Ra'd⁴⁴⁶ that Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir and al-Kisā'i read the first of these two as an interrogative and the second as a declarative (i.e., 'ā'/innā ... // 'iḏā), while the rest read both as an interrogative ('ā'innā ... // 'ā.iḏā). They followed their manners in pronouncing strongly or weakly (of the *hamzah*).⁴⁴⁷

'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *nāḥiratan* with 'alif and the rest without 'alif (i.e., *naḥiratan*).

16: *ṭuwà* // *ḏhab/ṭuwan* // *iḏhab* have already been mentioned.⁴⁴⁸

18: The two of the holy cities read 'an *tazzakkā/ā* with gemination of the *zāy* and the rest without gemination (i.e., *tazzakkā/ā/ē*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i apply 'imālah to the ends of the verses of this *sūrah* starting from His word *hal 'atēka ḥadiṭu mūsē* (Q79:15) up until the end, except in His speech *ḏaḥā/ēhā* (Q79:3) to which Ḥamzah applied pure *fathah*.

⁴⁴⁴ See F.39:71.

⁴⁴⁵ See F.38:57.

⁴⁴⁶ See F.13:5.

⁴⁴⁷ See U.11.1.

⁴⁴⁸ See F.20:12.

Warš reads all of those which have the *hā'* and *'alif* (i.e., *-hā*) with pure *fathah* except in His speech *ḍikrāhā* (Q79:43). He reads that in between because of the *rā'*.^(P:219)

'Abū 'Amr reads all that has *rā'* in it with *'imālah* (i.e., Q79:20, 34 *al-kubrē*; Q79:36 *yarē*; Q79:43 *ḍikrēhā*) and whatever remains in between (i.e., Q79:15 *mūsāhā*; Q79:44 *muntahāhā*, etc.).

The rest read it with pure *fathah* for all (i.e., *mūsā*, *muntahāhā*, *al-kubrā*, *yarā*, *ḍikrāhā*, etc.).

F.80. 'Abasa

4: 'Āṣim reads *fa-tanfa'ahū* with *naṣb* of the *'ayn*, and the rest read it with *raf'* (i.e., *fa-tanfa'uhū*).

6: The two of the holy cities read *lahū taṣṣaddā/ā* with gemination of the *ṣād* and the rest without gemination (i.e., *taṣaddā/ē/ā*).

25: The Kufans read *'annā ṣababnā* with *fathah* on the *hamzah* and the rest with *kasrah* (i.e., *'innā*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i apply *'imālah* to the ends of the verses of this *sūrah* from the beginning up until His speech *talāhhē* (Q80:10).

'Abū 'Amr applies *'imālah* to *ad-ḍikrē* (Q80:4) and what remains he pronounces in between (i.e., *talāhhā*, etc.). Warš pronounces all of them in between (i.e., *talāhhā*, *ad-ḍikrā*, etc.). The rest pronounce them with pure *fath* (i.e., *talāhhā*, *ad-ḍikrā*, etc.).

F.81. Al-Takwīr

6: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *suḡīrat* without gemination of the *ḡīm* and the rest with gemination (i.e., *suḡḡīrat*).

12: Nāfi', Ḥafṣ and Ibn Ḍakwān read *su'īrat* with gemination and the rest without gemination (i.e., *su'īrat*).

24: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i read *bi-ḍanīnin* with *ḍā'* and the rest read it with *dād* (i.e., *bi-ḍanīnin*).⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁹ The reading *bi-ḍanīnin* contradicts the *rasm* بضنين.

F.82. Al-Infiṭār

7: The Kufans read *fa-‘adalaka* without gemination and the rest read it with gemination (i.e., *fa-‘addalaka*).

19: Ibn Kaṭīr and ‘Abū ‘Amr read *yawmu lā tamliku* with *rafʿ* of the *mīm* and the rest with *naṣb* (i.e., *yawma*).

F.83. Al-Taṭfīf

14: ‘Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī read *bal rēna* with *‘imālah* of the *fathah* of the *rā’*. The rest read it with a back vowel (i.e., *rāna*). Ḥaḥṣ introduces a short silence on the *lām* of *bal*, as we have already mentioned.⁴⁵⁰ (P:220)

26: Al-Kisā’ī reads *ḥātīmuḥū* with *‘alif* after the *ḥā’*. The rest read it with *kasrah* on the *ḥā’* and *‘alif* after the *tā’* (i.e., *ḥitāmuhū*).

31: Ḥaḥṣ reads *fakihīna* here (i.e., not at Q44:27 or Q52:18) without *‘alif* and the rest with *‘alif* (i.e., *fākihīna*).

F.84. Al-Inṣiqāq

12: ‘Āṣim, Ḥamzah and ‘Abū ‘Amr read *wa-yaṣlā/ē sa‘īran* with *fathah* on the *yā’*, without a vowel on the *ṣād* and without gemination. The rest read it with *ḍammah* on the *yā’*, *fathah* on a *ṣād* and with gemination of the *lām* (i.e., *yuṣallā/ē/ā*).

19: Ibn Kaṭīr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī read *la-tarkabanna* with *fathah* on the *bā’* and the rest with *ḍammah* (i.e., *la-tarkabunna*).

F.85. Al-Burūğ

15: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā’ī read *ḍu l-‘arṣi l-mağīdi* with *ḥafḍ* of the *dāl* and the rest with *rafʿ* (i.e., *ḍu l-‘arṣi l-mağīdu*).

22: Nāfiʿ reads *maḥfūḍun* with *rafʿ* of the *ḍā’* and the rest with *ḥafḍ* (i.e., *maḥfūḍin*).

⁴⁵⁰ See F.18:1.

F.86. Al-Ṭāriq

4: 'Āṣim, Ibn 'Āmir and Ḥamzah read *lammā* 'alayhā with gemination of the *mīm*. The rest read it without gemination (i.e., *lamā* 'alayhā); this has already been mentioned.⁴⁵¹

F.87. Al-'A'lā Almighty

3: Al-Kisā'i reads *wa-llaḏī qadara* without gemination of the *dāl* and the rest read it with gemination (i.e., *qaddara*).

16: 'Abū 'Amr reads *bal yu' / ūṭirūna* with *yā'* and the rest with *tā'* (i.e., *tu' / ūṭirūna*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i apply 'imālah to the end of the verses of this complete *sūrah* (*al-'a'lā*, etc.). Warṣ pronounces them in between (i.e., *a'lā*, etc.). 'Abū 'Amr applies 'imālah to *aḏ-ḏikrē* (Q87:9), *li-l-yusrē* (Q87:8) and *al-kubrē* (Q87:12), and what remains he pronounces in between (i.e., *al-'a'lā*, etc.). The rest pronounce it with pure *fath* (i.e., *al-'a'lā*, etc.).

F.88. Al-Gāṣiyah

4: 'Abū Bakr and 'Abū 'Amr read *tuṣlā nāran* with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *taṣlā / ē / ā*).

5: *min 'aynin 'ē / āniyatīn* is mentioned in the chapter on 'imālah.⁴⁵² (P:221)

11: Ibn Kaṭīr and 'Abū 'Amr read *lā yusma'u* with *yā'* that carries *ḍammah* and *lāgiyatun* with *raf'*. Nāfi' reads it similarly, but he reads it with *tā'* (i.e., *lā tusma'u lāgiyatun*). The rest read it with a *tā'* that carries a *fathah* and *lāgiyatan* with *naṣb* (i.e., *lā tasma'u lāgiyatan*).

22: Hišām reads *bi-musayṭirin* with *sīn*.⁴⁵³ Ḥamzah, with disagreement in transmission from him through Ḥallād, reads it in between the *ṣād* and the *zāy* (*bi-muṣayṭirin*). The rest read it with pure *ṣād* (i.e., *muṣayṭirin*).

F.89. Al-Fağr

3: Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *wa-l-witri* with *kasrah* on the *wāw* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *wa-l-watri*).

⁴⁵¹ See F.11:111.

⁴⁵² See U.13.6.

⁴⁵³ Hišām goes against the *rasm* بمصيطر.

17: 'Abū 'Amr reads *lā yukrimūna*, *lā yaḥuddūna* (Q89:18), *wa-ya'/'ākulūna* (Q89:19) and *wa-yuḥibbūna* (Q89:20) with *yā'* of all four. The rest read it with *tā'* (i.e., *lā tukrimūna*, *lā taḥu/āddūna*, *wa-ta'/'ākulūna*, *wa-tuḥibbūna*).

The Kufans read *wa-lā taḥāddūna* with *'alif* and the rest without *'alif* (i.e., *y/taḥuddūna*).

23: *wa-ḡū/i'a yawma'idīn* has already been mentioned.⁴⁵⁴

25, 26: Al-Kisā'i reads *lā yu'addabu* (Q89:25) and *wa-lā yūtaqu* (Q89:26) with *fathah* on the *ḍāl* and *tā'*. The rest read it with *kasrah* (i.e., *yu'addibu* and *yūtiqū*).

F.89.1. [*Yā'*s of Q89]

There are two *yā'*s:

1. *rabbī 'akramani* (Q89:15) and
2. *rabbī 'ahānani* (Q89:16) with no vowel on both by the Kufans and Ibn 'Āmir.

F.89.2. [Removed *yā'*s of Q89]

There are four removed ones:

1. *'idā yasrī* (Q89:4) with retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech and pause by Ibn Kaṭīr and retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech by Nāfi' and 'Abū 'Amr.
2. *bi-l-wāḍī* (Q89:9) with retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech and pause by al-Bazzī and retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech by Warš and Qunbul. It has also been transmitted from Qunbul with retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech and pause.^(P:222)
3. *'akramanī* (Q89:15) and
4. *'ahānanī* (Q89:16) with retention (of the *yā'*) in both connected speech and pause by al-Bazzī and retention (of the *yā'*) in connected speech by Nāfi'. 'Abū 'Amr gave the choice (to either retain or remove the *yā'*) for these two (i.e., *'akramanī/i* and *'ahānanī/i*). His regular treatment is that at the ends of the verse he removes (the *yā'*) (i.e., *'ahānani* and *'arkamanani*). This is what I recited it and adopt.

⁴⁵⁴ See F.2:11.

F.90.–F.114. From Sūrat al-Balad up to the End of the Qur'ān

[F.90. Al-Balad]

13–14: Ibn Kaṭīr, 'Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'i read *fakka* with *fathah* on the *kāf*, *raqabatan* with *naṣb* and 'aw 'aṭ'ama with *fathah* on the *hamzah*, removal of the 'alif after the 'ayn and *fathah* on the *mīm* without *tanwīn* (i.e., *fakka raqabatan* // 'aw 'aṭ'ama). The rest read it with *raf'* of the *kāf* (i.e., *fakku*), *ḥafḍ* (of *raqabatin*) and *kasrah* on the *hamzah*, 'alif after the 'ayn and *raf'* of the *mīm* with *tanwīn* (i.e., *fakku raqabatin* // (')aw (')iṭ'āmun).

20: Ḥaṣṣ, 'Abū 'Amr and Ḥamzah read *mu'ṣadatun* here and in al-Humazah (Q104:8) with *hamzah*. Ḥamzah, when he pauses on it, replaces it with *wāw* (i.e., *mūṣadah*#). The rest read it without *hamzah* (i.e., *mūṣadatun*).

F.91. Al-Šams

15: Nāfi' and Ibn 'Amir read *fa-lā yaḥāfu* with *fā'* and the rest with *wāw*.⁴⁵⁵

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i apply 'imālah to all the ends of the verses of this *sūrah* except for His speech *talāhā* (Q91:2) and *ṭahāhā* (Q91:6). Ḥamzah applies (pure) *fathah* to those. 'Abū 'Amr pronounces all of these in between (i.e., *wa-ḍuḥāhā*, *talāhā*) and the rest pronounce it with pure *fath* (i.e., *wa-ḍuḥāhā*, *talāhā*).

F.92.–F.93. Al-Layl 'Idā Yağšā and al-Ḍuḥā

Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i apply 'imālah to the ends of the verses of both (*sūrahs*) except for His speech *sağā* (Q93:2), as Ḥamzah applied (pure) *fathah* to it (and al-Kisā'i 'imālah, i.e., *sağē*).^(P:223)

'Abū 'Amr applies 'imālah to *li-l-yusrē* (Q92:7) and *li-l-usrē* (Q92:10), and he pronounces what remains in between (i.e., *yağšā*, *aḍ-ḍuḥā*, *sağā*). Warš pronounces all of that in between (i.e., also *li-l-yusrā* and *li-l-usrā*). The rest pronounce it with pure *fath* (i.e., *yağšā*, *aḍ-ḍuḥā* and *sağā*).

F.94.–F.95. There is No Disagreement in 'A-Lam Našrah and Wa-l-Tīn

Except what has already preceded in the general principles.

⁴⁵⁵ This is a regional *rasm* variant (Sidky 2020, 142).

F.96. Al-‘Alaq

7: Qunbul reads *ʿan raʿahū* with shortness of the *hamzah* and the rest with length (i.e., *raʿāhū*).

Ḥamzah and al-Kisāʿī apply *ʿimālah* to the ends of the verses of this *sūrah* from His speech *la-yatḡē* (Q96:6) up until His speech *bi-ʿanna lāha yarē* (Q96:14). As for ʿAbū ʿAmr, (he applies *ʿimālah* to) *yarē* only and he pronounces what remains in between (i.e., *la-yatḡā*, etc.). Warṣ pronounces all of that in between (i.e., *la-yatḡā*, *yarā*, etc.). The rest pronounce it with pure *fath* (i.e., *la-yatḡā*, *yarā*, etc.).

F.97. Al-Qadr

5: Al-Kisāʿī reads *ḥattā maṭliʿa l-faḡri* with *kasrah* on the *lām* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *maṭlaʿa*).

F.98. Al-Barīʿah⁴⁵⁶

6, 7: Nāfiʿ and Ibn Ḍakwān read *al-barīʿati* in the two places with *hamzah* and the rest read it without *hamzah* and with gemination of the *yā* for both (i.e., *al-bariyyati*).

F.99. Al-Zalzalah

8, 9: Hišām reads *ḥayran yarah* and *šarran yarah* without a vowel on the *hā*. The rest pronounce it with *ṣilah* (of the *wāw*) (i.e., *arahū*).

F.100. Wa-l-ʿĀdiyāt

1, 3: I have already mentioned the manner of ʿAbū ʿAmr in assimilating *wa-l-ʿādiyāḍ-dabḥan*. His manner and the manner of Ḥallād in assimilation *fa-l-muḡirāṣ-ṣabḥan* (has been discussed) earlier.⁴⁵⁷ (P:224)

F.101. Al-Qāriʿah

10: Ḥamzah reads *mā hiya* without *hā* in connected speech. The rest retains it in connected speech and pause (i.e., *mā hiyah*(#)).

⁴⁵⁶ This is an alternative name for Sūrat al-Bayyinah (Kandil 1992, 54).

⁴⁵⁷ See F.37:1, 2, 3.

F.102. 'Alhākum⁴⁵⁸

6: Ibn 'Āmir and al-Kisā'i read *la-turawunna* with *ḍammah* on the *tā'* and the rest with *fathah* (i.e., *la-tarawunna*). There is no disagreement in His speech *tumma la-tarawunnahā* (Q102:7).

F.104. Al-Humazah

2: Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *ḡamma'a mālan* with gemination of the *mīm* and the rest read it without gemination (i.e., *ḡama'a*).

9: 'Abū Bakr, Ḥamzah and al-Kisā'i read *fī 'umudīn* with two *ḍammahs* and the rest read it with two *fathahs* (i.e., *'amadin*).

F.106. Qurayš

1: Ibn 'Āmir reads *li-'ilāfi* without *yā'* after the *hamzah* and the rest read it with *yā'*.⁴⁵⁹

They all agree on the addition of the *yā'* in the word despite (its absence in) the writing after the *hamzah* in *'ilāfihim(ū)* (Q106:2).⁴⁶⁰

F.109. Al-Kāfirūna

3, 4, 5: Hišām reads *'ēbidūna*, *'ēbidun* and *'ēbidūna* with *'imālah* and the rest with *fath* (i.e., *'ābidūna*, *'ābidun*, *'ābidūna*). It has already been mentioned.⁴⁶¹

6: Nāfi', al-Bazzī with some disagreement, Ḥafṣ and Hišām read *wa-liya dīni* with *fathah* on the *yā'* and the rest read it without a vowel (i.e., *wa-lī*). This is what is well-known for al-Bazzī and I adopt it.

F.111. Al-Masad

1: Ibn Kaṭīr reads *yadā 'abī lahbin* without a vowel on the *hā'* and the rest read it with *fathah* (i.e., *lahabin*).

⁴⁵⁸ This is an alternative name for Sūrat al-Takāṭur (Kandil 1992, 54).

⁴⁵⁹ The *rasm* is لا يلف.

⁴⁶⁰ The *rasm* is الفهم.

⁴⁶¹ See U.13.6.

4: ‘Āṣim reads *ḥammālata l-ḥaṭabi* with *naṣb* of the *tā’* and the rest read it with *rafʿ* (i.e., *ḥammālatu*).^(P:225)

F.112. Al-ʾIḥlās

4: Ḥafṣ reads *kufuwan* with *dammah* on the *fā’* and *fathah* on the *wāw* without *hamzah*. Ḥamzah reads it with no vowel on the *fā’* with *hamzah* in connected speech (i.e., *kufʾan*) and when he pauses, he replaces the *hamzah* with a *wāw* that carries a *fathah* following what is written (i.e., *kufwā#*).⁴⁶² The regular rule (*qiyās*) is to place the vowel (of the *hamzah*) on the *fā’* (i.e., *kufā#*). The rest reads it with *dammah* on the *fā’* and with *hamzah* (i.e., *kufuʾan*).

F.113.–F.114. There Is No Disagreement in al-Falaq and al-Nās

Except what has preceded in the general principles in the main body of the book. Success comes from God.

F.115. The Chapter That Mentions the *takbīr* in the Reading of Ibn Kaṭīr

Know—May God support you—that al-Bazzī transmitted from Ibn Kaṭīr along his *ʾisnād* that he used to say the *takbīr* (*allāhu ʾakbar*) from the end of *Wa-l-Duḥā* (Q93) on completing each *sūrah* up until the end of *qul ʾaʿūdū bi-rabbi n-nās* (Q114), and he connects the *takbīr* (without pause following it) at the end of the *sūrah*.

If the reciter wants to pause to draw breath (he does so after saying the *takbīr*), then he starts at the *tasmiyah* (i.e., saying *#bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi*), connecting it to the beginning of the *sūrah* that comes after it (i.e., *wa-ʾammā bi-niʾmati rabbika fa-ḥaddiṭ illāhu ʾakbar# bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi ʾa-lam našraḥ laka ṣadrak#*).

If he wishes, he can connect the *takbīr* to the *tasmiyah* and connect the *tasmiyah* to the beginning of the *sūrah* but it is not allowed to draw breath on the *tasmiyah* if the *takbīr* is connected (i.e., *wa-ʾammā bi-niʾmati rabbika fa-ḥaddiṭ illāhu ʾakbaru bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi ʾa-lam našraḥ laka ṣadrak#*, not *wa-ʾammā bi-niʾmati rabbika fa-ḥaddiṭ illāhu ʾakbaru bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm# ʾa-lam našraḥ laka ṣadrak#*).

Some of the people of oral tradition draw breath at the end of the *sūrahs* and then begin with the *takbīr* connecting it (without drawing breath) to the *tasmiyah* (i.e., *wa-ʾammā*

⁴⁶² The *rasm* is كفو .

bi-ni'mati rabbika fa-ḥaddiṭ# 'allāhu 'akbaru bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi 'a-lam našraḥ laka ṣadrak#).

Al-Naqqāš transmitted it like this from 'Abū Rabī'ah from al-Bazzī. I recited it like that to [ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ġaʿfar] al-Fārisī transmitting from him.

The hadiths narrated from the Meccans on the *takbīr* are indicative of what we start with, because *ma'a* 'along with' is in it, and that points to their closeness and togetherness.⁴⁶³

After he says the *takbīr* at the end of Sūrat al-Nās (Q114), he recites Fātiḥat al-Kitāb (Q1) and five verses from the beginning of Sūrat al-Baqarah according to the count of the Kufans up until the speech of the Almighty *wa-'ulā'ika humu l-muflīḥūna* (Q2:5) and then he prays the closing prayer. This is called *al-ḥāllu al-murtaḥilu* 'one who arrives and sets off anew (lit. the arriver-departer)'.

For all of what has come before, there are famous hadiths which the scholars transmitted and which support each other and indicate the soundness of what Ibn Kaṭīr did. We have mentioned these elsewhere.^(P:226)

The people of the oral tradition disagreed on the wording of the *takbīr*. Some of them said it was *allāhu 'akbar* and nothing else. Their evidence for the soundness of this is that all the hadiths transmitted that without anything additional. This is what our master 'Abū al-Faṭḥ narrated to us, saying: 'Abū al-Ḥasan [Ibn Ġalbūn] the teacher of recitation narrated to us, saying: 'Aḥmad b. Salm narrated to us, saying: al-Ḥasan b. Maḥlad narrated to us, saying: al-Bazzī narrated to us, saying: I recited to 'Ikrimah b. Sulaymān, who said, "I recited to 'Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Aḷlāh b. Qusṭanṭīn [= b. al-Qusṭ] and I had arrived at Wa-ḍ-Ḍuḥā (Q93) and he said, 'Pronounce the *takbīr* when you finish it along with the end of each *sūrah*'. So I recited it to 'Abd Aḷlāh b. Kaṭīr and he ordered me to do so."⁴⁶⁴ Ibn Kaṭīr narrated to me that he had recited to Muḡāhid and he ordered him to do so, and Muḡāhid narrated that he recited to 'Abd Aḷlāh b. 'Abbās and he ordered him to do so, and Ibn 'Abbās narrated that he recited

⁴⁶³ The hadith al-Dānī is referring to is paraphrased a few paragraphs below. The crux is in the use of *ma'a* 'with' in *fa-lammā balaḡtu ḍ-ḍuḥā qāla 'kabbir ḥattā yaḥtima ma'a ḥātīmati kull sūrah* "When I arrived at al-Ḍuḥā, he said 'Pronounce the *takbīr* when you finish it along with (*ma'a*) the end of each *sūrah*.'" The hadith is less paraphrased in the *Ġāmi' al-bayān*. There the wording is attributed to 'Ubayy who said the Prophet ordered him to do so (al-Dānī 2007, 1739).

⁴⁶⁴ This *'isnād* is absent in the *Taysīr* and *Ġāmi' al-bayān*.

to 'Ubayy b. Ka'b and he ordered him to do so, and he narrated that he recited to the messenger of God (ﷺ) and he ordered him to do so.

There are others that say *lā 'ilāha 'illā llāhu wa-llāhu 'akbar*, so they say the *tahlīl* before the *takbīr*. They indicate the soundness of that by what Fāris b. 'Aḥmad al-Muqri' narrated to us, saying: 'Abd al-Bāqī b. al-Ḥasan narrated to us, saying: 'Aḥmad b. Salm al-Ḥuttulī and 'Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ⁴⁶⁵ narrated to us, and they said: al-Ḥasan al-Ḥubāb narrated to us, saying: "I asked al-Bazzī about the *takbīr*, 'How does it go?' He said to me, '*lā 'ilāha 'illā llāhu wa-llāhu 'akbar*'."

'Abū 'Amr [al-Dānī] said: This Ibn al-Ḥubāb due to his mastery, precision and soundness of speech, has a status recognised by every scholar of this craft.

This is how I recited it to 'Abū al-Faṭḥ. I recited to others what has preceded (i.e., saying only *allāhu 'akbar*).^(P:227)

F.115.1. Subsection

Know that the reciter, when he attaches the *takbīr* at the closure of a *sūrah* that ends in an unvocalised letter, adds a *kasrah* due to the meeting of two unvocalised letters, for example, *fa-ḥaddiṭ illāhu 'akbaru* (Q93:11) and *fa-rḡab illāhu 'akbaru* (Q94:8).

If it is *tanwīn* that the verse ends in, he applies *kasrah* to that too. It is like that regardless of whether a letter carries *tanwīn* with *fathah*, *ḍammah* or *kasrah*, for example, in *taw-wāban illāhu 'akbaru* (Q110), *la-ḥabīrun illāhu 'akbaru* (Q100), *min masadin illāhu 'akbaru* (Q111) and what is like it.

If the end of the *sūrah* carries a *fathah*, he applies the *fathah*, if it carries a *kasrah*, he applies the *kasrah* and if it ends with a *ḍammah*, he applies the *ḍammah*, for example, in the speech of the Almighty *'idā ḥasada llāhu 'akbar* (Q113), *wa-n-nāsi llāhu 'akbar* (Q114), *al-'abtaru llāhu 'akbar* (Q108) and what is like it.

If the end of the *sūrah* is a pronominal *hā'* with a *ṣilah* of *wāw*, one removes this *ṣilah* due to the meeting of two unvocalised letters, for example, *rabbahu llāhu 'akbar* (Q98) and *ṣarran yarahu llāhu 'akbar* (Q99).

So, the *'alif al-waṣl* that is at the beginning of the name of God Almighty is dropped in all of these, as there is no need for it.

⁴⁶⁵ These *'isnāds* are absent in the *Taysīr* and *Ġāmi' al-bayān*.

So, know that, succeeding upon the path of truth and the manner of correctness. Success comes from God.

The book has been completed with praise for God and with his help. May God bless our master Muḥammad, his family and his companions and grant them peace.

God is sufficient for us, and He is the best judge.

There is no might nor strength except with God,
the High and the Mighty.

Praise be to God alone.

(P:228)

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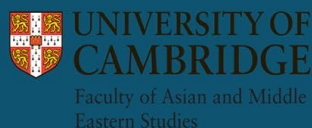
Al-Dānī's *al-Taysīr fī al-Qirā'āt al-Sab'* A Translation with Linguistic Commentary

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Al-Taysīr fī al-Qirā'āt al-Sab' by the 11th century Andalusian scholar 'Abū 'Amr al-Dānī is one of the most influential descriptions of the seven reading traditions of the Qur'ān. It is the work on which the later didactic poem by al-Šāṭibī was based, which still stands as the basis for the teaching of the reading traditions among Muslim specialists. This book makes the highly technical genre of the Qur'ānic reading traditions accessible through a rigorous translation of al-Dānī's work with extensive elucidating footnotes. Besides a full translation of the text, the book also includes an in-depth introduction, which lays out the history of the reading traditions, details of their transmission, the technical terminology of the *Qirā'āt* genre, and summarises the linguistic principles of the reading traditions using modern linguistic terminology and illustrative tables.

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